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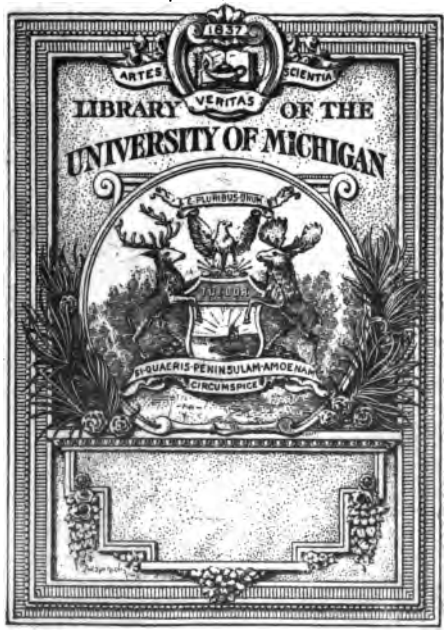
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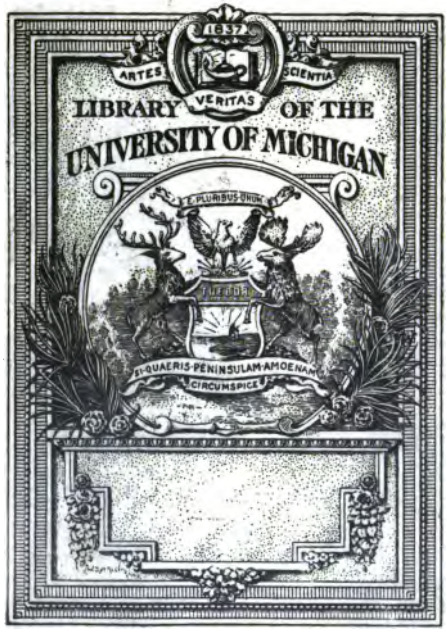
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English Literature for Secondary Schools

General Editor:—J. H. FOWLER, M.A.

NARRATIVES FROM MACAULAY

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Narratives from Macaulay

I. The Trial of the Bishops
II. The Siege of Londonderry
III. The Massacre of Glencoe

Edited with Introduction, Notes, Glossary, &c., by

Fanny Johnson
Formerly Head Mistress of Bolton High School

MACMILLAN AND CO., LIMITED
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INTRODUCTION.

Of all branches of human knowledge, History is the most complicated, and in a sense includes every other department in itself. The chief difficulty therefore that confronts the Historian is the selection of a point of view, and the consequent rejection of material, which, however interesting, may yet serve to confuse the main stream of his narrative. In the more usual and narrower sense, however, History is the account of the life of States, or Governments, as distinguished from Biography, which is an account of the lives of Individuals. Politics, or the science of government, has always been one of the favourite preoccupations of Englishmen, and the popularity of Thomas Babington Macaulay is largely due to his sharing the sympathies of his countrymen in that regard. Born in 1800, the son of Zachary Macaulay, a man of notable character and achievement, he was continually associated with the actual makers of history. His father was one of the principal members of a group of men, the better part of whose life was occupied in agitating for the abolition of the Slave Trade. When the Abolition Bill was passed in 1807, the precocious boy of seven was quite able to enter into its meaning. At Mr. Preston's private school, Little Shelford, he shewed the wonderful power of memory and quick absorption of a new book, or new subject of learning, that ever after distinguished him. As an undergraduate at Trinity College, Cambridge, he began to concern himself with literature, and in 1825 he

published an article on Milton in the *Edinburgh Review.* The series of literary and historical Essays, of which this was the first, rapidly brought him fame. From this time forth his wordly success was assured. He became a member of Parliament, and was esteemed as a debater on the subject that was then foremost in interest—namely, the first Reform Bill, which was finally carried in 1832. This was the first of the democratic measures for the extension of the franchise to the middle, lower middle, and working classes, which has now culminated in the return of a large group of labour members in the present Parliament (1906). Macaulay was a Whig—in favour, that is to say, of extending the liberties of the common people But his Whiggism was, of course, a very different matter from the Liberalism or Radicalism of the present day. He had been called to the Bar, and in 1834 he was made Legal Member of Council in India. This office provided an opportunity for studying Indian History on the spot, of which he made brilliant use in his Essays on Clive and Warren Hastings. After a few years in this well-paid post, he had saved enough money to be able to devote the rest of his life to politics and literature, without reference to worldly prospects. He returned to England (1838), became member of Parliament for Edinburgh, and held various posts under government until 1847. In that year the question arose of devoting a certain grant of Government money to the Roman Catholic College at Maynooth, in Ireland. This was vehemently opposed by the strong Protestants both in and out of Parliament. Macaulay, true to his Whig principles, supported the grant, and lost his seat.

In 1848 he published the first volumes of his *History of England from the Accession of James II.*, from which the following "Narratives" are selected. The History has been often described as a Whig Pamphlet. It is, in fact, in large part, an eulogy of William III., and a defence of the Revolution which established the Protestant

Succession. Previous historians had generally taken the part of the king in their account of the struggles between the various members of the body politic. Macaulay frankly accepted the dictum that government depends upon an implied contract between the monarch and his subjects, and once for all disposed of the Stewart doctrine that a "king can do no wrong." Dealing as he did with a period in which these were the questions at issue, his history is in the main special pleading on one side of the argument. But though his method undoubtedly gives a colour to the facts of which he treats, and though later research has thrown further light on some of his statements, his narrative remains on the whole the recognised standard account of the period, while his way of looking at events has influenced the judgment of all later historians, as well as of the average reader.

It is, however, as literature that the "Narratives" are here presented. Apart from questions of accuracy, it is the first requisite of an historian to be capable of telling a story, and his gift in this respect only differs from that of the novelist by being concerned with ready-made incidents instead of with inventions. Readers whose taste has not been spoilt by bad books invariably find Macaulay as good as a novel, in regard to the exciting and maintaining of interest. The secret in his case, as in all others, is that he himself has first lived through the story, has seen and felt with the seven Bishops, has pictured vividly in his mind the sufferings of the besieged at Londonderry, has trembled in imagination with Hamilton before the crime of the massacre of Glencoe. This power of visualising, as we now call it, is indeed the supreme gift without which no prose or verse can be composed that is worth the making. An author must have felt, seen, and perceived deeply before he attempts to convey his impressions to others. The historian, as distinguished from the poet or dramatist, needs his special talent besides. He must have patient industry to seek for facts,

judgment to discern their relative importance, and a sense of proportion to set them in orderly array. But all these without the vital interest which is so abundantly displayed by Macaulay will only produce a skeleton rather than a living image of the past. When once any famous narrative passage of Macaulay has been read, the impression received usually abides with the reader, and a casual reference recalls the form in which the event was first presented to one's knowledge.

This sympathetic revival of the incidents of a story extends itself not only to persons, but to places. Historians of the genuine kind—historians born, not made—have always been topographers as well. An examination of places as bearing witness to past events, or as being in part the cause of history —a study of environment, in fact—is now considered a necessary part of historical training. Macaulay was pre-eminent in his generation for attention to topographical details. He equipped himself for his writing of history not only by a vast amount of reading, but also by travelling. His biographer says, for instance, that in preparation for writing his History he "passed two days in Londonderry, and made the most of each minute of daylight. He penetrated into each corner where there lurked still a vestige of the past, and called upon every inhabitant who was acquainted with any tradition worth the hearing. He drove through the suburbs; he sketched a ground plan of the streets; . . . he walked four times round the walls of the city." And the diary of the author written on the spot amply confirms this account. In like manner, he visited Glencoe "in rain and sunshine." He brought an eye for the historical aspect of places. His accurate acquaintance with the streets of London, acquired for the most part in the course of interminable walks, alone or in company with his beloved sisters, was of equal service in dealing with scenes of history that were enacted in the neighbourhood of the Houses of Parliament. Macaulay's

reputation was made suddenly, and during his lifetime it never waned. As usually happens in such cases, however, there came a time when the praise that had formerly been bestowed upon him was felt to be exaggerated, and historical critics who prided themselves upon impartiality and accuracy in the minutest details pointed out his deficiencies in those respects. It is more useful for young students to dwell upon his merits than to search for defects. Even the short extracts here given are sufficient to enable readers to realise the qualities above pointed out. The more carefully they are studied, the more evident will be the pains taken by the writer, and his power of communicating interest to the reader. Inaccuracy is, of course, a serious defect in a historian. But it is safe to say of Macaulay that he was never wilfully inaccurate. His partiality for the Whig side in politics, and in particular his hero-worship of William III., are more debateable points. But it must be remembered that it is the part of a writer who narrates the lives of his fellow-beings to exercise a moral judgment upon their actions. And here, again, Macaulay's intention was to judge justly. His partiality for William III. was based upon knowledge; he was not blind to the defects in his hero, as is proved among other things by his strong condemnation of the Massacre of Glencoe.

Much has been said by literary critics about Macaulay's style. The great editor of the *Edinburgh Review*, Francis Jeffrey, on receiving the MS. of his Essay on Milton (1825) wrote: "The more I think, the less I can conceive where you picked up that style." But every original writer, as Jeffrey well knew, forms his own style. It is this, indeed, which distinguishes the greater men from the less. The latter only imitate what the former invent. Macaulay's style, once invented, was, however, peculiarly easy to imitate. It attracted attention, at first, from its freshness and vigour. And his numerous imitators in the end brought their great original for a time out of favour.

As an ardent politician, however, as well as a notable literary figure, Macaulay was one whom the Government of the day delighted to honour. He was re-elected for Edinburgh in 1852, was raised to the Upper House as Lord Macaulay of Rothley in 1857, and died in December 1859. He never married, but was distinguished throughout life as a most affectionate and well-beloved brother, and a kind uncle to the children of his favourite sister, Lady Trevelyan. The gay and agreeable side of his nature might almost be guessed from his writing, as might also a certain positiveness and aggressiveness in conversation, that made him in a few cases unpopular as a companion. He had the great quality, both in private and public life, of being thoroughly in earnest in whatever he undertook. If the student should read carefully a passage chosen at random from Macaulay's History, and then compare it with an account of the same events in any later historian, he will almost invariably find that nothing in the later account is substantially different from the former. The work Macaulay did upon his particular period is, in a sense, final. It was his design to complete the History of England up to his own time. But he only lived to finish the reign of William III., with whose name his own will for ever be associated in a way that does honour to himself, as well as to his hero.

I.

THE TRIAL OF THE BISHOPS.

THE celebrated Trial of the seven Bishops took place at the close of the epoch frequently described by the historians as that of Personal Monarchy, which is roughly dated from 1485 to 1689. During the whole of that period, the power and influence of the reigning sovereign, as distinct from, and in the greater number of cases superior to, that of his ministers, made itself felt in a way that we, in modern times, find difficult to realise. But during the whole of this period there was a constant, though intermittent, struggle on the part of other portions of the body politic (or the State) to resist the King's excessive use of prerogative. These efforts of groups of persons desiring either (1) religious or (2) political liberty were expressed from time to time in more or less violent form. They came of course to a climax during the Civil War, and at the Restoration it seemed as though for a time the balance of power was again on the side of the monarch. The petition of the Bishops, which led to their Trial, was an expression of resistance to James II.'s claim to "do no wrong." The acquittal pronounced by the jury was the decision of a whole nation against the unlawful authority of the King. It has often been said that the English Constitution grew, and was not made by any one conscious act of King or people. The Trial was a test case, proving it to be according to the law and constitution of England for

subjects to attempt to influence their sovereign by such means as the bishops had used. The events themselves were so public and picturesque that they were easily comprehended at the time, and have ever since been remembered as the turning point of the great struggle. The behaviour of the Bishops drew particular attention, because they were members of the very class whose interest had hitherto been bound up with the claims of the king. On this occasion, though their action was probably due in the main to fear for their own Church, they had the support of the bulk of the nation on political grounds.

Only a few days before the Trial took place a Prince of Wales, who would necessarily be brought up in the spirit and religion of his father, was born to James and his second wife, Mary of Modena. So great, in consequence, was the sense of insecurity for the future, that though the Bishops were pronounced "Not Guilty," a long-meditated invitation, signed in cipher by seven chiefs of the conspiracy, was despatched on the very day of the acquittal to the Prince of Orange, entreating him to come over with an army to secure the liberties of the English people.

A brief summary of previous events is necessary in order to make clear the attitude of the persons concerned in this celebrated case. When Charles II. was restored, he found his subjects divided as regards religion into three sections, (1) members of the Church of England, who then as now, however, might be distinguished as either High or Low Church, (2) Protestant Dissenters, and (3) Roman Catholics. His own sympathies were on the whole with the Roman Catholics. But he was aware that it would be dangerous to give them too open an expression. He therefore countenanced the proceedings, and finally assented to the Acts of Parliament, which were aimed by the High Church party, to whom he owed his crown, against the Puritan section of the English Church, as well as against the Nonconformists of both kinds, Protestants and Catholics.

By (1) the Corporation Act (1661) the authorities in each town were obliged to conform to the Established Church. By (2) the Act of Uniformity (1662) the clergy of the English Church were forced to accept a prayer-book arranged according to the views of the High Church party. (3) The Conventicle Act (1664) and (4) the Five Mile Act (1665) were intended to prevent the holding of any religious services other than those of the Church of England; and, lastly, (5) The Test Act (1673) insisted on conformity from all temporal as well as spiritual officials. The operation of these Acts affected both Protestant and Catholic Dissenters alike. Charles endeavoured to evade their severity when exercised against the Catholics by Declarations of Indulgence (1662 and 1673), in which he offered to use his "dispensing power" to relieve persons who would otherwise suffer under the Acts. But he yielded to the remonstrance of his Parliaments, and avoided the collision that might have sent him again upon his "travels." James II. was both more fanatic and less prudent. He was determined to re-establish the Roman Catholic Church, and in the meantime, he asserted himself as above the law, and therefore competent to break it, by ignoring the Acts in favour of his friends. At length he published (April 7, 1687) a Declaration of Indulgence, of a far more formal kind than anything attempted by Charles II. In this paper, he stated that it was his wish to see his people members of the Roman Catholic Church, but since that could not be, he was resolved to protect those who were not in agreement with the Established Church, and he suspended all penal laws against all classes of Nonconformists, forbidding his subjects to molest any religious assembly, and authorising both Catholics and Protestant Dissenters to perform their worship openly. He also set at naught the Acts which imposed religious tests upon officials whether civil or military. The effect of this Declaration was to annul and make of no effect all the persecuting Acts above-mentioned. At the present time every English-

man enjoys complete liberty to worship as he pleases, and there are but few positions left in which adherence to any particular creed is made a condition before appointment. The principle of religious Toleration has been fully established among us. But this freedom, which is now taken as a matter of course, was slow of growth. On the occasion in question it was clear to thinking persons that James's real object was very different from that which he professed. He offered liberty of conscience to all, with the intention of securing it to the few. When that end had been accomplished it was easy to guess that he would forsake the Protestant Dissenters, whose attachment he was endeavouring to bribe. Moreover, he was taking away with one hand what he professed to be offering with another. The statement of his absolute power, which was practically expressed by the Declaration of Indulgence, was contrary to civil liberty, and in the end all classes of the people, of whatever religious opinion, would have suffered by it. When a second Declaration of Indulgence, worded much like the first, was published in April, 1688, and ordered to be read on a certain date by every clergyman in every parish church, a number of bishops and principal clergy met, and drew up a petition, which they presented with the utmost respect and humility to the King. The words of the petition were: "That the great averseness found in themselves to their distributing and publishing in all their churches your Majesty's late declaration for liberty of conscience, proceeds neither from any want of duty or obedience to your majesty (our holy mother the Church of England, being both in her principles and her constant practice unquestionably loyal . . .), nor yet from any want of tenderness to dissenters, in relation to whom we are willing to come to such a temper as shall be thought fit, when the matter shall be considered settled in Parliament and Convocation; but, . . . because that declaration is founded upon such a dispensing power as hath been often declared illegal

in Parliament, and particularly in the years 1662 and 1672, and in the beginning of your Majesty's reign," . . . etc. This petition was signed by Sancroft, the Archbishop of Canterbury; Lloyd, Bishop of St. Asaph; Turner, of Ely; Lake, of Chichester; Ken, of Bath and Wells; White, of Peterborough; and Trelawney, of Bristol. It was presented to the King on Friday the 18th of May, and by some mysterious means the document was printed that very evening, and sold in thousands in the streets of London and all over the kingdom. The disobedience of the clergy to the royal command to read the Declaration, which had already been almost universal, being thus countenanced by the heads of the Church, resulted in the trial, of which the account is given below.

ON the twenty-seventh of May it was notified to the Bishops that on the eighth of June they must appear before the King in Council. Why so long an interval was allowed we are not informed. Perhaps James hoped that some of the offenders, terrified by his displeasure, might submit before the day fixed for the reading of the Declaration in their dioceses, and might, in order to make their peace with him, persuade their clergy to obey his order. If such was his hope it was signally disappointed. Sunday the third of June came; and all parts of England followed the example of the capital. Already the Bishops of Norwich, Gloucester, Salisbury, Winchester, and Exeter, had signed copies of the petition in token of their approbation. The Bishop of Worcester had refused to distribute the Declaration among

his clergy. The Bishop of Hereford had distributed it: but it was generally understood that he was overwhelmed by remorse and shame for having done so. Not one parish priest in fifty complied with the Order in Council. In the great diocese of Chester, including the county of Lancaster, only three clergymen could be prevailed on by Cartwright to obey the King. In the diocese of Norwich are many hundreds of parishes. In only four of these was the Declaration read. The courtly Bishop of Rochester could not overcome the scruples of the minister of the ordinary of Chatham, who depended on the government for bread. There is still extant a pathetic letter which this honest priest sent to the Secretary of the Admiralty. "I cannot," he wrote, "reasonably expect your Honour's protection. God's will be done. I must choose suffering rather than sin."

On the evening of the eighth of June the seven prelates, furnished by the ablest lawyers in England with full advice, repaired to the palace, and were called into the Council chamber. Their petition was lying on the table. The Chancellor took the paper up, showed it to the Archbishop, and said, "Is this the paper which your Grace wrote, and which the six Bishops present delivered to his Majesty?" Sancroft looked at the paper, turned to the King, and spoke thus: "Sir, I stand here a culprit. I never was so before. Once I little thought that I ever should be so. Least of all could I think that I should be charged with

any offence against my King: but, since I am so unhappy as to be in this situation, your Majesty will not be offended if I avail myself of my lawful right to decline saying anything which may criminate me." "This is mere chicanery," said the King. "I hope that your Grace will not do so ill a thing as to deny your own hand." "Sir," said Lloyd, whose studies had been much among the casuists, "all divines agree that a person situated as we are may refuse to answer such a question." The King, as slow of understanding as quick of temper, could not comprehend what the prelates meant. He persisted, and was evidently becoming very angry. "Sir," said the Archbishop, "I am not bound to accuse myself. Nevertheless, if your Majesty positively commands me to answer, I will do so in the confidence that a just and generous prince will not suffer what I say in obedience to his orders to be brought in evidence against me." "You must not capitulate with your Sovereign," said the Chancellor. "No," said the King; "I will not give any such command. If you choose to deny your own hands, I have nothing more to say to you."

The Bishops were repeatedly sent out into the ante-chamber, and repeatedly called back into the Council room. At length James positively commanded them to answer the question. He did not expressly engage that their confession should not be used against them. But they, not unnaturally, supposed that, after what had passed, such an

engagement was implied in his command. Sancroft acknowledged his handwriting; and his brethren followed his example. They were then interrogated about the meaning of some words in the petition, and about the letter which had been circulated with so much effect all over the kingdom: but their language was so guarded that nothing was gained by the examination. The Chancellor then told them that a criminal information would be exhibited against them in the Court of King's Bench, and called upon them to enter into recognisances. They refused. They were peers of the realm, they said. They were advised by the best lawyers in Westminster Hall that no peer could be required to enter into a recognisance in a case of libel; and they should not think themselves justified in relinquishing the privilege of their order. The King was so absurd as to think himself personally affronted because they chose, on a legal question, to be guided by legal advice. "You believe everybody," he said, "rather than me." He was indeed mortified and alarmed. For he had gone so far that, if they persisted, he had no choice left but to send them to prison; and, though he by no means foresaw all the consequences of such a step, he foresaw probably enough to disturb him. They were resolute. A warrant was therefore made out directing the Lieutenant of the Tower to keep them in safe custody, and a barge was manned to convey them down the river.

On the evening of the Black Friday, as it was called, on which they were committed, they reached their prison just at the hour of divine service. They instantly hastened to the chapel. It chanced that in the second lesson were these words: "In all things approving ourselves as the ministers of God, in much patience, in afflictions, in distresses, in stripes, in imprisonments." All zealous Churchmen were delighted by this coincidence, and remembered how much comfort a similar coincidence had given, near forty years before, to Charles the First at the time of his death.

On the evening of the next day, Saturday the ninth, a letter came from Sunderland enjoining the chaplain of the Tower to read the Declaration during divine service on the following morning. As the time fixed by the Order in Council for the reading in London had long expired, this proceeding of the government could be considered only as a personal insult of the meanest and most childish kind to the venerable prisoners. The chaplain refused to comply: he was dismissed from his situation; and the chapel was shut up.

The Bishops edified all who approached them by the firmness and cheerfulness with which they endured confinement, by the modesty and meekness with which they received the applauses and blessings of the whole nation, and by the loyal attachment which they professed for the persecutor who sought their destruction. They remained

only a week in custody. On Friday the fifteenth of June, the first day of term, they were brought before the King's Bench. An immense throng awaited their coming. From the landingplace to the Court of Requests they passed through a lane of spectators who blessed and applauded them. "Friends," said the prisoners as they passed, "honour the King; and remember us in your prayers." These humble and pious expressions moved the hearers, even to tears. When at length the procession had made its way through the crowd into the presence of the Judges, the Attorney General exhibited the information which he had been commanded to prepare, and moved that the defendants might be ordered to plead. The counsel on the other side objected that the Bishops had been unlawfully committed, and were therefore not regularly before the Court. The question whether a peer could be required to enter into recognisances on a charge of libel was argued at great length, and decided by a majority of the Judges in favour of the crown. The prisoners then pleaded Not Guilty. That day fortnight, the twenty-ninth of June, was fixed for their trial. In the meantime they were allowed to be at large on their own recognisances. The crown lawyers acted prudently in not requiring sureties. For Halifax had arranged that twenty-one temporal peers of the highest consideration should be ready to put in bail, three for each defendant; and such a manifestation of the feeling of the nobility

would have been no slight blow to the government. It was also known that one of the most opulent Dissenters of the City had begged that he might have the honour of giving security for Ken.

The Bishops were now permitted to depart to their own homes. The common people, who did not understand the nature of the legal proceedings which had taken place in the King's Bench, and who saw that their favourites had been brought to Westminster Hall in custody and were suffered to go away in freedom, imagined that the good cause was prospering. Loud acclamations were raised. The steeples of the churches sent forth joyous peals. Sprat was amazed to hear the bells of his own Abbey ringing merrily. He promptly silenced them; but his interference caused much angry muttering. The Bishops found it difficult to escape from the importunate crowd of their well-wishers. Lloyd was detained in Palace Yard by admirers who struggled to touch his hands and to kiss the skirt of his robe, till Clarendon, with some difficulty, rescued him and conveyed him home by a bye path. Cartwright, it is said, was so unwise as to mingle with the crowd. Some person who saw his episcopal habit asked and received his blessing. A bystander cried out, "Do you know who blessed you?" "Surely," said he who had just been honoured by the benediction, "it was one of the Seven." "No," said the other; "it is the Popish Bishop of Chester." "Popish

dog," cried the enraged Protestant; "take your blessing back again."

Such was the concourse, and such the agitation, that the Dutch Ambassador was surprised to see the day close without an insurrection. The King had been by no means at ease. In order that he might be ready to suppress any disturbance, he had passed the morning in reviewing several battalions of infantry in Hyde Park. It is, however, by no means certain that his troops would have stood by him if he had needed their services. When Sancroft reached Lambeth, in the afternoon, he found the grenadier guards, who were quartered in that suburb, assembled before the gate of his palace. They formed in two lines on his right and left, and asked his benediction as he went through them. He with difficulty prevented them from lighting a bonfire in honour of his return to his dwelling. There were, however, many bonfires that evening in the City. Two Roman Catholics who were so indiscreet as to beat some boys for joining in these rejoicings were seized by the mob, stripped naked, and ignominiously branded.

Sir Edward Hales now came to demand fees from those who had lately been his prisoners. They refused to pay anything for a detention which they regarded as illegal to an officer whose commission was, on their principles, a nullity. The Lieutenant hinted very intelligibly that, if they came into his hands again, they should be put into heavy irons and should lie on bare

stones. "We are under our King's displeasure," was the answer; "and most deeply do we feel it: but a fellow subject who threatens us does but lose his breath."

To pack a jury was now the great object of the King. The crown lawyers were ordered to make strict inquiry as to the sentiments of the persons who were registered in the freeholders' book. Sir Samuel Astry, Clerk of the Crown, whose duty it was, in cases of this description, to select the names, was summoned to the palace, and had an interview with James in the presence of the Chancellor. Sir Samuel seems to have done his best. For, among the forty-eight persons whom he nominated, were said to be several servants of the King, and several Roman Catholics. But as the counsel for the Bishops had a right to strike off twelve, these persons were removed. The crown lawyers also struck off twelve. The list was thus reduced to twenty-four. The first twelve who answered to their names were to try the issue.

On the twenty-ninth of June, Westminster Hall, Old and New Palace Yard, and all the neighbouring streets to a great distance were thronged with people. Such an auditory had never before and has never since been assembled in the Court of King's Bench. Thirty-five temporal peers of the realm were counted in the crowd.

All the four Judges of the Court were on the

bench. Wright, who presided, had been raised to his high place over the heads of many abler and more learned men solely on account of his unscrupulous servility. Allybone was a Papist, and owed his situation to that dispensing power, the legality of which was now in question. Holloway had hitherto been a serviceable tool of the government. Even Powell, whose character for honesty stood high, had borne a part in some proceedings which it is impossible to defend. He had, in the great case of Sir Edward Hales, with some hesitation, it is true, and after some delay, concurred with the majority of the bench, and had thus brought on his character a stain which his honourable conduct on this day completely effaced.

The counsel were by no means fairly matched. The government had required from its law officers services so odious and disgraceful that all the ablest jurists and advocates of the Tory party had, one after another, refused to comply, and had been dismissed from their employments. Sir Thomas Powis, the Attorney General, was scarcely of the third rank in his profession. Sir William Williams, the Solicitor General, had quick parts and dauntless courage: but he wanted discretion; he loved wrangling; he had no command over his temper; and he was hated and despised by all political parties. The most conspicuous assistants of the Attorney and Solicitor were Serjeant Trinder, a Roman Catholic, and Sir Bartholomew Shower, Recorder of London, who

had some legal learning, but whose fulsome apologies and endless repetitions were the jest of Westminster Hall. The government had wished to secure the services of Maynard: but he had plainly declared that he could not in conscience do what was asked of him.

On the other side were arrayed almost all the eminent forensic talents of the age. Sawyer and Finch, who, at the time of the accession of James, had been Attorney and Solicitor General, and who, during the persecution of the Whigs in the late reign, had served the crown with but too much vehemence and success, were of counsel for the defendants. With them were joined two persons who, since age had diminished the activity of Maynard, were reputed the two best lawyers that could be found in all the Inns of Court: Pemberton, who had, in the time of Charles the Second, been Chief Justice of the King's Bench, who had been removed from his high place on account of his humanity and moderation, and who had resumed his practice at the bar; and Pollexfen, who had long been at the head of the Western circuit, and who, though he had incurred much unpopularity by holding briefs for the crown at the Bloody Assizes, and particularly by appearing against Alice Lisle, was known to be at heart a Whig, if not a republican. Sir Creswell Levinz was also there, a man of great knowledge and experience, but of singularly timid nature. He had been removed from the bench some years before,

because he was afraid to serve the purposes of the government. He was now afraid to appear as the advocate of the Bishops, and had at first refused to receive their retainer; but it had been intimated to him by the whole body of attorneys who employed him that, if he declined this brief, he should never have another.

Sir George Treby, an able and zealous Whig, who had been Recorder of London under the old charter, was on the same side. Sir John Holt, a still more eminent Whig lawyer, was not retained for the defence, in consequence, it should seem, of some prejudice conceived against him by Sancroft, but was privately consulted on the case by the Bishop of London. The junior counsel for the Bishops was a young barrister named John Somers. He had no advantages of birth or fortune; nor had he yet had any opportunity of distinguishing himself before the eyes of the public: but his genius, his industry, his great and various accomplishments, were well known to a small circle of friends; and, in spite of his Whig opinions, his pertinent and lucid mode of arguing and the constant propriety of his demeanour had already secured to him the ear of the Court of King's Bench. The importance of obtaining his services had been strongly represented to the Bishops by Johnstone; and Pollexfen, it is said, had declared that no man in Westminster Hall was so well qualified to treat a historical and constitutional question as Somers.

The jury was sworn; it consisted of persons of highly respectable station. The foreman was Sir Roger Langley, a baronet of old and honourable family. With him were joined a knight and ten esquires, several of whom are known to have been men of large possessions. There were some Non-conformists in the number; for the Bishops had wisely resolved not to show any distrust of the Protestant Dissenters. One name excited considerable alarm, that of Michael Arnold. He was brewer to the palace; and it was apprehended that the government counted on his voice. The story goes that he complained bitterly of the position in which he found himself. "Whatever I do," he said, "I am sure to be half ruined. If I say Not Guilty, I shall brew no more for the King; and if I say Guilty, I shall brew no more for anybody else."

The trial then commenced, a trial which, even when coolly perused after the lapse of more than a century and a half, has all the interest of a drama. The advocates contended on both sides with far more than professional keenness and vehemence: the audience listened with as much anxiety as if the fate of every one of them was to be decided by the verdict; and the turns of fortune were so sudden and amazing that the multitude repeatedly passed in a single minute from anxiety to exultation and back again from exultation to still deeper anxiety.

The information charged the Bishops with

having written or published, in the county of Middlesex, a false, malicious, and seditious libel. The Attorney and Solicitor first tried to prove the writing. For this purpose several persons were called to speak to the hands of the Bishops. But the witnesses were so unwilling that hardly a single plain answer could be extracted from any of them. Pemberton, Pollexfen, and Levinz contended that there was no evidence to go to the jury. Two of the Judges, Holloway and Powell, declared themselves of the same opinion; and the hopes of the spectators rose high. All at once the crown lawyers announced their intention to take another line. Powis, with shame and reluctance which he could not dissemble, put into the witness box Blathwayt, a Clerk of the Privy Council, who had been present when the King interrogated the Bishops. Blathwayt swore that he had heard them own their signatures. His testimony was decisive. "Why," said Judge Holloway to the Attorney, "when you had such evidence, did you not produce it at first, without all this waste of time?" It soon appeared why the counsel for the crown had been unwilling, without absolute necessity, to resort to this mode of proof. Pemberton stopped Blathwayt, subjected him to a searching cross examination, and insisted upon having all that had passed between the King and the defendants fully related. "That is a pretty thing indeed," cried Williams. "Do you think," said Powis, "that you are at liberty to ask our

witnesses any impertinent question that comes into your heads?" The advocates of the Bishops were not men to be so put down. "He is sworn," said Pollexfen, "to tell the truth and the whole truth: and an answer we must and will have." The witness shuffled, equivocated, pretended to misunderstand the questions, implored the protection of the Court. But he was in hands from which it was not easy to escape. At length the Attorney again interposed. "If," he said, "you persist in asking such a question, tell us, at least, what use you mean to make of it." Pemberton, who, through the whole trial, did his duty manfully and ably, replied without hesitation; "My Lords, I will answer Mr. Attorney. I will deal plainly with the Court. If the Bishops owned this paper under a promise from His Majesty that their confession should not be used against them, I hope that no unfair advantage will be taken of them." "You put on His Majesty what I dare hardly name," said Williams: "since you will be so pressing, I demand, for the King, that the question may be recorded." "What do you mean, Mr. Solicitor?" said Sawyer, interposing. "I know what I mean," said the apostate: "I desire that the question may be recorded in Court." "Record what you will, I am not afraid of you, Mr. Solicitor," said Pemberton. Then came a loud and fierce altercation, which the Chief Justice could with difficulty quiet. In other circumstances, he would probably have ordered the question to be recorded

and Pemberton to be committed. But on this great day he was overawed. He often cast a side glance towards the thick rows of Earls and Barons by whom he was watched, and who in the next Parliament might be his judges. He looked, a bystander said, as if all the peers present had halters in their pockets. At length Blathwayt was forced to give a full account of what had passed. It appeared that the King had entered into no express covenant with the Bishops. But it appeared also that the Bishops might not unreasonably think that there was an implied engagement. Indeed, from the unwillingness of the crown lawyers to put the Clerk of the Council into the witness box, and from the vehemence with which they objected to Pemberton's cross examination, it is plain that they were themselves of this opinion.

However, the handwriting was now proved. But a new and serious objection was raised. It was not sufficient to prove that the Bishops had written the alleged libel. It was necessary to prove also that they had written it in the county of Middlesex. And not only was it out of the power of the Attorney and Solicitor to prove this; but it was in the power of the defendants to prove the contrary. For it so happened that Sancroft had never once left the palace at Lambeth from the time when the Order in Council appeared till after the petition was in the King's hands. The whole case for the prosecution had therefore com-

pletely broken down; and the audience, with great glee, expected a speedy acquittal.

The crown lawyers then changed their ground again, abandoned altogether the charge of writing a libel, and undertook to prove that the Bishops had published a libel in the county of Middlesex. The difficulties were great. The delivery of the petition to the King was undoubtedly, in the eye of the law, a publication. But how was this delivery to be proved? No person had been present at the audience in the royal closet, except the King and the defendants. The King could not well be sworn. It was therefore only by the admissions of the defendants that the fact of publication could be established. Blathwayt was again examined, but in vain. He well remembered, he said, that the Bishops owned their hands; but he did not remember that they owned the paper which lay on the table of the Privy Council to be the same paper which they had delivered to the King, or that they were even interrogated on that point. Several other official men who had been in attendance on the Council were called, and among them Samuel Pepys, Secretary of the Admiralty; but none of them could remember that anything was said about the delivery. It was to no purpose that Williams put leading questions till the counsel on the other side declared that such twisting, such wiredrawing, was never seen in a court of justice, and till Wright himself was forced to admit that the Solicitor's

mode of examination was contrary to all rule. As witness after witness answered in the negative, roars of laughter and shouts of triumph, which the Judges did not even attempt to silence, shook the hall.

It seemed that at length this hard fight had been won. The case for the crown was closed. Had the counsel for the Bishops remained silent, an acquittal was certain; for nothing which the most corrupt and shameless Judge could venture to call legal evidence of publication had been given. The Chief Justice was beginning to charge the jury, and would undoubtedly have directed them to acquit the defendants; but Finch, too anxious to be perfectly discreet, interfered, and begged to be heard. "If you will be heard," said Wright, "you shall be heard; but you do not understand your own interests." The other counsel for the defence made Finch sit down, and begged the Chief Justice to proceed. He was about to do so when a messenger came to the Solicitor General with news that Lord Sunderland could prove the publication, and would come down to the court immediately. Wright maliciously told the counsel for the defence that they had only themselves to thank for the turn which things had taken. The countenances of the great multitude fell. Finch was, during some hours, the most unpopular man in the country. Why could he not sit still as his betters, Sawyer, Pemberton, and Pollexfen had done?

His love of meddling, his ambition to make a fine speech, had ruined everything.

Meanwhile the Lord President was brought in a sedan chair through the hall. Not a hat moved as he passed; and many voices cried out "Popish dog." He came into Court pale and trembling, with eyes fixed on the ground, and gave his evidence in a faltering voice. He swore that the Bishops had informed him of their intention to present a petition to the King, and that they had been admitted into the royal closet for that purpose. This circumstance, coupled with the circumstance that, after they left the closet, there was in the King's hands a petition signed by them, was such proof as might reasonably satisfy a jury of the fact of the publication.

Publication in Middlesex was then proved. But was the paper thus published a false, malicious, and seditious libel? Hitherto the matter in dispute had been whether a fact which everybody well knew to be true could be proved according to technical rules of evidence; but now the contest became one of deeper interest. It was necessary to inquire into the limits of prerogative and liberty, into the right of the King to dispense with statutes, into the right of the subject to petition for the redress of grievances. During three hours the counsel for the petitioners argued with great force in defence of the fundamental principles of the constitution, and proved from the journals of the House of Commons that the Bishops had

affirmed no more than the truth when they represented to the King that the dispensing power which he claimed had been repeatedly declared illegal by Parliament. Somers rose last. He spoke little more than five minutes; but every word was full of weighty matter; and when he sate down his reputation as an orator and a constitutional lawyer was established. He went through the expressions which were used in the information to describe the offence imputed to the Bishops, and showed that every word, whether adjective or substantive, was altogether inappropriate. The offence imputed was a false, a malicious, a seditious libel. False the paper was not; for every fact which it set forth had been proved from the journals of Parliament to be true. Malicious the paper was not; for the defendants had not sought an occasion of strife, but had been placed by the government in such a situation that they must either oppose themselves to the royal will, or violate the most sacred obligations of conscience and honour. Seditious the paper was not; for it had not been scattered by the writers among the rabble, but delivered privately into the hands of the King alone: and a libel it was not, but a decent petition such as, by the laws of England, nay, by the laws of imperial Rome, by the laws of all civilised states, a subject who thinks himself aggrieved may with propriety present to the sovereign.

The Attorney replied shortly and feebly. The

Solicitor spoke at great length and with great acrimony, and was often interrupted by the clamours and hisses of the audience. He went so far as to lay it down that no subject or body of subjects, except the Houses of Parliament, had a right to petition the King. The galleries were furious; and the Chief Justice himself stood aghast at the effrontery of this venal turncoat.

At length Wright proceeded to sum up the evidence. His language showed that the awe in which he stood of the government was tempered by the awe with which the audience, so numerous, so splendid, and so strongly excited, had impressed him. He said that he would give no opinion on the question of the dispensing power, that it was not necessary for him to do so, that he could not agree with much of the Solicitor's speech, that it was the right of the subject to petition, but that the particular petition before the Court was improperly worded, and was, in the contemplation of law, a libel. Allybone was of the same mind, but, in giving his opinion, showed such gross ignorance of law and history as brought on him the contempt of all who heard him. Holloway evaded the question of the dispensing power, but said that the petition seemed to him to be such as subjects who think themselves aggrieved are entitled to present, and therefore no libel. Powell took a bolder course. He avowed that, in his judgment, the Declaration of Indulgence was a nullity, and that the dispensing power, as lately exercised, was

utterly inconsistent with all law. If these encroachments of prerogative were allowed, there was an end of Parliaments. The whole legislative authority would be in the King. "That issue, gentlemen," he said, "I leave to God and to your consciences."

It was dark before the jury retired to consider of their verdict. The night was a night of intense anxiety. Some letters are extant which were despatched during that period of suspense, and which have therefore an interest of a peculiar kind. "It is very late," wrote the Papal Nuncio; "and the decision is not yet known. The Judges and the culprits have gone to their own homes. The jury remain together. Tomorrow we shall learn the event of this great struggle."

The solicitor for the Bishops sate up all night with a body of servants on the stairs leading to the room where the jury was consulting. It was absolutely necessary to watch the officers who watched the doors; for those officers were supposed to be in the interest of the crown, and might, if not carefully observed, have furnished a courtly juryman with food, which would have enabled him to starve out the other eleven. Strict guard was therefore kept. Not even a candle to light a pipe was permitted to enter. Some basins of water for washing were suffered to pass at about four in the morning. The jurymen, raging with thirst, soon lapped up the whole. Great numbers of people walked the neighbouring streets till dawn. Every

hour a messenger came from Whitehall to know what was passing. Voices, high in altercation, were repeatedly heard within the room: but nothing certain was known.

At first nine were for acquitting and three for convicting. Two of the minority soon gave way; but Arnold was obstinate. Thomas Austin, a country gentleman of great estate, who had paid close attention to the evidence and speeches, and had taken full notes, wished to argue the question. Arnold declined. He was not used, he doggedly said, to reasoning and debating. His conscience was not satisfied; and he should not acquit the Bishops. "If you come to that," said Austin, "look at me. I am the largest and strongest of the twelve; and before I find such a petition as this a libel, here I will stay till I am no bigger than a tobacco pipe." It was six in the morning before Arnold yielded. It was soon known that the jury were agreed: but what the verdict would be was still a secret.

At ten the Court again met. The crowd was greater than ever. The jury appeared in their box; and there was a breathless stillness.

Sir Samuel Astry spoke. "Do you find the defendants, or any of them, guilty of the misdemeanour whereof they are impeached, or not guilty?" Sir Roger Langley answered, "Not guilty." As the words passed his lips, Halifax sprang up and waved his hat. At that signal, benches and galleries raised a shout. In a moment

ten thousand persons, who crowded the great hall, replied with a still louder shout, which made the old oaken roof crack; and in another moment the innumerable throng without set up a third huzza, which was heard at Temple Bar. The boats which covered the Thames gave an answering cheer. A peal of gunpowder was heard on the water, and another, and another; and so, in a few moments, the glad tidings went flying past the Savoy and the Friars to London Bridge, and to the forest of masts below. As the news spread, streets and squares, market places and coffeehouses, broke forth into acclamations. Yet were the acclamations less strange than the weeping. For the feelings of men had been wound up to such a point that at length the stern English nature, so little used to outward signs of emotion, gave way, and thousands sobbed aloud for very joy. Meanwhile, from the outskirts of the multitude, horsemen were spurring off to bear along all the great roads intelligence of the victory of our Church and nation. Yet not even that astounding explosion could awe the bitter and intrepid spirit of the Solicitor. Striving to make himself heard above the din, he called on the Judges to commit those who had violated, by clamour, the dignity of a court of justice. One of the rejoicing populace was seized. But the tribunal felt that it would be absurd to punish a single individual for an offence common to hundreds of thousands, and dismissed him with a gentle reprimand.

It was vain to think of passing at that moment to any other business. Indeed the roar of the multitude was such that, for half an hour, scarcely a word could be heard in court. Williams got to his coach amidst a tempest of hisses and curses. Cartwright, whose curiosity was ungovernable, had been guilty of the folly and indecency of coming to Westminster in order to hear the decision. He was recognised by his sacerdotal garb and by his corpulent figure, and was hooted through the hall. "Take care," said one, "of the wolf in sheep's clothing." "Make room," cried another, "for the man with the Pope in his belly."

The acquitted prelates took refuge from the crowd which implored their blessing in the nearest chapel where divine service was performing. Many churches were open on that morning throughout the capital; and many pious persons repaired thither. The bells of all the parishes of the City and liberties were ringing. The jury meanwhile could scarcely make their way out of the hall. They were forced to shake hands with hundreds. "God bless you," cried the people; "God prosper your families; you have done like honest good-natured gentlemen; you have saved us all today." As the noblemen who had appeared to support the good cause drove off, they flung from their carriage windows handfuls of money, and bade the crowd drink to the health of the King, the Bishops, and the jury.

II.

THE SIEGE OF LONDONDERRY.

THE famous siege of Londonderry may be regarded in several aspects. (1) As an incident in English History, in the strictest sense, it is part of the revolution, or series of events by which the majority of James II.'s subjects deposed him in favour of a Protestant King. Driven from England, James had taken refuge at the French Court, where he was cordially welcomed by Louis XIV., and furnished with considerable assistance in French officers, arms and ammunition for an expedition to Ireland, where he might hope to find loyalty among the Catholic majority. The Protestants, or Englishry, had indeed been driven northwards, and, alarmed by rumours of massacre, and by actual assaults from the hostile natives, had taken refuge in large numbers in Enniskillen and Londonderry. The latter town was besieged by James in person, but he shortly withdrew to Dublin, and convoked a Parliament, of which the members were almost entirely Catholic. Their violent measures against the Protestants aroused fresh indignation in England and led to the deliverance of the city, which was finally carried out by Kirke.

But the siege has even more significance if we regard it as (2) an event in the History of Ireland. From that point of view, it is part of the great race struggle which has been going on in Ireland ever since the time of Strongbow (1169). The "aboriginal" Irish, as Macaulay calls them, had never

acquiesced in the English Conquest, and their hatred of the rulers had been further increased when, at the time of the Reformation, England had become in the main a Protestant country, while Ireland remained Roman Catholic. The Roman Catholic Lord-Lieutenant, Tyrconnel, whom James had appointed to that office by the exercise of his 'dispensing power' was determined on breaking altogether with the power of England, and even had a scheme for offering the island to the king of France as a subject province. His violence against the Englishry led to the desperate resistance at Londonderry, as here described. The besieged party felt that their victory was a matter of life and death to their cause. The habit of living under dangerous conditions inclined them to fearless resistance, while their contempt for the race nominally in subjection, unjustified as it was in some respects, and lamentable in its effect on the History of Ireland in general, gave them the same sort of calm confidence that was shewn at a later date by the defenders of Cawnpore and Lucknow.

(3) As an incident in Military History, the siege of Londonderry is one of numerous examples of what can be accomplished by "morale," *i.e.* by character and discipline, even against apparently overwhelming odds. It may be noted also as another fact of frequent observation that the defenders were men whose military reputation was not ready-made, but was brought out by force of the circumstances in which they were placed.

IN the camp it was generally expected that Londonderry would fall without a blow. Rosen confidently predicted that the mere sight of the Irish army would terrify the garrison into submission. But Richard Hamilton, who knew the temper of the colonists better, had misgivings.

The assailants were sure of one important ally within the walls. Lundy, the Governor, professed the Protestant religion, and had joined in proclaiming William and Mary; but he was in secret communication with the enemies of his Church and of the Sovereigns to whom he had sworn fealty. Some have suspected that he was a concealed Jacobite, and that he had affected to acquiesce in the Revolution only in order that he might be better able to assist in bringing about a Restoration: but it is probable that his conduct is rather to be attributed to faintheartedness and poverty of spirit than to zeal for any public cause. He seems to have thought resistance hopeless; and in truth, to a military eye, the defences of Londonderry appeared contemptible. The fortifications consisted of a simple wall overgrown with grass and weeds: there was no ditch even before the gates: the drawbridges had long been neglected: the chains were rusty and could scarcely be used: the parapets and towers were built after a fashion which might well move disciples of Vauban to laughter; and these feeble defences were on almost every side commanded by heights. Indeed those who laid out the city had never meant that it should be able to stand a regular siege, and had contented themselves with throwing up works sufficient to protect the inhabitants against a tumultuary attack of the Celtic peasantry. Avaux assured Louvois that a single French battalion would easily storm such defences. Even

if the place should, notwithstanding all disadvantages, be able to repel a large army directed by the science and experience of generals who had served under Condé and Turenne, hunger must soon bring the contest to an end. The stock of provisions was small; and the population had been swollen to seven or eight times the ordinary number by a multitude of colonists flying from the rage of the natives.

Lundy, therefore, from the time when the Irish army entered Ulster, seems to have given up all thought of serious resistance. He talked so despondingly that the citizens and his own soldiers murmured against him. He seemed, they said, to be bent on discouraging them. Meanwhile the enemy drew daily nearer and nearer; and it was known that James himself was coming to take the command of his forces.

Just at this moment a glimpse of hope appeared. On the fourteenth of April ships from England anchored in the bay. They had on board two regiments which had been sent, under the command of a Colonel named Cunningham, to reinforce the garrison. Cunningham and several of his officers went on shore and conferred with Lundy. Lundy dissuaded them from landing their men. The place, he said, could not hold out. To throw more troops into it would therefore be worse than useless: for the more numerous the garrison, the more prisoners would fall into the hands of the enemy. The best thing that the two regiments

could do would be to sail back to England. He meant, he said, to withdraw himself privately; and the inhabitants must then try to make good terms for themselves.

He went through the form of holding a council of war; but from this council he excluded all those officers of the garrison whose sentiments he knew to be different from his own. Some, who had ordinarily been summoned on such occasions, and who now came uninvited, were thrust out of the room. Whatever the Governor said was echoed by his creatures. Cunningham and Cunningham's companions could scarcely venture to oppose their opinion to that of a person whose local knowledge was necessarily far superior to theirs, and whom they were by their instructions directed to obey. One brave soldier murmured. "Understand this," he said, "to give up Londonderry is to give up Ireland." But his objections were contemptuously overruled. The meeting broke up. Cunningham and his officers returned to the ships, and made preparations for departing. Meanwhile Lundy privately sent a messenger to the head quarters of the enemy, with assurances that the city should be peaceably surrendered on the first summons.

But as soon as what had passed in the council of war was whispered about the streets, the spirit of the soldiers and citizens swelled up high and fierce against the dastardly and perfidious chief who had betrayed them. Many of his own officers

declared that they no longer thought themselves bound to obey him. Voices were heard threatening, some that his brains should be blown out, some that he should be hanged on the walls. A deputation was sent to Cunningham imploring him to assume the command. He excused himself on the plausible ground that his orders were to take directions in all things from the Governor. Meanwhile it was rumoured that the persons most in Lundy's confidence were stealing out of the town one by one. Long after dusk on the evening of the seventeenth it was found that the gates were open and that the keys had disappeared. The officers who made the discovery took on themselves to change the passwords and to double the guards. The night, however, passed over without any assault.

After some anxious hours the day broke. The Irish, with James at their head, were now within four miles of the city. A tumultuous council of the chief inhabitants was called. Some of them vehemently reproached the Governor to his face with his treachery. He had sold them, they cried, to their deadliest enemy: he had refused admission to the force which good King William had sent to defend them. While the altercation was at the height, the sentinels who paced the ramparts announced that the vanguard of the hostile army was in sight. Lundy had given orders that there should be no firing; but his authority was at end. Two gallant soldiers, Major Henry Baker

and Captain Adam Murray, called the people to arms. They were assisted by the eloquence of an aged clergyman, George Walker, rector of the parish of Donaghmore, who had, with many of his neighbours, taken refuge in Londonderry. The whole of the crowded city was moved by one impulse. Soldiers, gentlemen, yeomen, artisans, rushed to the walls and manned the guns. James, who, confident of success, had approached within a hundred yards of the southern gate, was received with a shout of "No surrender," and with a fire from the nearest bastion. An officer of his staff fell dead by his side. The King and his attendants made all haste to get out of reach of the cannon balls. Lundy, who was now in imminent danger of being torn limb from limb by those whom he had betrayed, hid himself in an inner chamber. There he lay during the day, and at night, with the generous and politic connivance of Murray and Walker, made his escape in the disguise of a porter. The part of the wall from which he let himself down is still pointed out; and people still living talk of having tasted the fruit of a pear tree which assisted him in his descent. His name is, to this day, held in execration by the Protestants of the North of Ireland; and his effigy was long, and perhaps still is, annually hung and burned by them with marks of abhorrence similar to those which in England are appropriated to Guy Faux.

And now Londonderry was left destitute of all

military and of all civil government. No man in the town had a right to command any other: the defences were weak: the provisions were scanty: an incensed tyrant and a great army were at the gates. But within was that which has often, in desperate extremities, retrieved the fallen fortunes of nations. Betrayed, deserted, disorganized, unprovided with resources, begirt with enemies, the noble city was still no easy conquest. Whatever an engineer might think of the strength of the ramparts, all that was most intelligent, most courageous, most highspirited among the Englishry of Leinster and of Northern Ulster was crowded behind them. The number of men capable of bearing arms within the walls was seven thousand; and the whole world could not have furnished seven thousand men better qualified to meet a terrible emergency with clear judgment, dauntless valour, and stubborn patience. They were all zealous Protestants; and the Protestantism of the majority was tinged with Puritanism. They had much in common with that sober, resolute, and Godfearing class out of which Cromwell had formed his unconquerable army. But the peculiar situation in which they had been placed had developed in them some qualities which, in the mother country, might possibly have remained latent. The English inhabitants of Ireland were an aristocratic caste, which had been enabled, by superior civilisation, by close union, by sleepless vigilance, by cool intrepidity, to keep in subjection

a numerous and hostile population. Almost every one of them had been in some measure trained both to military and to political functions. Almost every one was familiar with the use of arms, and was accustomed to bear a part in the administration of justice. It was remarked by contemporary writers that the colonists had something of the Castilian haughtiness of manner, though none of the Castilian indolence, that they spoke English with remarkable purity and correctness, and that they were, both as militiamen and as jurymen, superior to their kindred in the mother country. In all ages, men situated as the Anglo-saxons in Ireland were situated have had peculiar vices and peculiar virtues, the vices and virtues of masters, as opposed to the vices and virtues of slaves. The member of a dominant race is, in his dealings with the subject race, seldom indeed fraudulent,—for fraud is the resource of the weak, —but imperious, insolent, and cruel. Towards his brethren, on the other hand, his conduct is generally just, kind, and even noble. His selfrespect leads him to respect all who belong to his own order. His interest impels him to cultivate a good understanding with those whose prompt, strenuous, and courageous assistance may at any moment be necessary to preserve his property and life. It is a truth ever present to his mind that his own well-being depends on the ascendency of the class to which he belongs. His very selfishness therefore is sublimed into public spirit: and this public

spirit is stimulated to fierce enthusiasm by sympathy, by the desire of applause, and by the dread of infamy. For the only opinion which he values is the opinion of his fellows; and in their opinion devotion to the common cause is the most sacred of duties. The character, thus formed, has two aspects. Seen on one side, it must be regarded by every well constituted mind with disapprobation. Seen on the other, it irresistibly extorts applause. The Spartan, smiting and spurning the wretched Helot, moves our disgust. But the same Spartan, calmly dressing his hair, and uttering his concise jests, on what he well knows to be his last day, in the pass of Thermopylæ, is not to be contemplated without admiration. To a superficial observer it may seem strange that so much evil and so much good should be found together. But in truth the good and the evil, which at first sight appear almost incompatible, are closely connected, and have a common origin. It was because the Spartan had been taught to revere himself as one of a race of sovereigns, and to look down on all that was not Spartan as of an inferior species, that he had no fellow feeling for the miserable serfs who crouched before him, and that the thought of submitting to a foreign master, or of turning his back before an enemy, never, even in the last extremity, crossed his mind. Something of the same character, compounded of tyrant and hero, has been found in all nations which have domineered over more numerous nations. But it

has nowhere in modern Europe shown itself so conspicuously as in Ireland. With what contempt, with what antipathy, the ruling minority in that country long regarded the subject majority may be best learned from the hateful laws which, within the memory of men still living, disgraced the Irish statute book. Those laws were at length annulled: but the spirit which had dictated them survived them, and even at this day sometimes breaks out in excesses pernicious to the commonwealth and dishonourable to the Protestant religion. Nevertheless it is impossible to deny that the English colonists have had, with too many of the faults, all the noblest virtues of a sovereign caste. The faults have, as was natural, been most offensively exhibited in times of prosperity and security: the virtues have been most resplendent in times of distress and peril; and never were those virtues more signally displayed than by the defenders of Londonderry, when their Governor had abandoned them, and when the camp of their mortal enemy was pitched before their walls.

No sooner had the first burst of the rage excited by the perfidy of Lundy spent itself than those whom he had betrayed proceeded, with a gravity and prudence worthy of the most renowned senates, to provide for the order and defence of the city. Two governors were elected, Baker and Walker. Baker took the chief military command. Walker's especial business was to preserve internal tranquillity, and to dole out

supplies from the magazines. The inhabitants capable of bearing arms were distributed into eight regiments. Colonels, captains, and subordinate officers were appointed. In a few hours every man knew his post, and was ready to repair to it as soon as the beat of the drum was heard. That machinery, by which Oliver had, in the preceding generation, kept up among his soldiers so stern and so pertinacious an enthusiasm, was again employed with not less complete success. Preaching and praying occupied a large part of every day. Eighteen clergymen of the Established Church and seven or eight nonconformist ministers were within the walls. They all exerted themselves indefatigably to rouse and sustain the spirit of the people. Among themselves there was for the time entire harmony. All disputes about church government, postures, ceremonies, were forgotten. The Bishop, having found that his lectures on passive obedience were derided even by the Episcopalians, had withdrawn himself, first to Raphoe, and then to England, and was preaching in a chapel in London. On the other hand, a Scotch fanatic named Hewson, who had exhorted the Presbyterians not to ally themselves with such as refused to subscribe the Covenant, had sunk under the well merited disgust and scorn of the whole Protestant community. The aspect of the Cathedral was remarkable. Cannon were planted on the summit of the broad tower which has since given place to a tower of different proportions.

Ammunition was stored in the vaults. In the choir the liturgy of the Anglican Church was read every morning. Every afternoon the Dissenters crowded to a simpler worship.

James had waited twenty four hours, expecting, as it should seem, the performance of Lundy's promises; and in twenty four hours the arrangements for the defence of Londonderry were complete. On the evening of the nineteenth of April, a trumpeter came to the southern gate, and asked whether the engagements into which the Governor had entered would be fulfilled. The answer was that the men who guarded these walls had nothing to do with the Governor's engagements, and were determined to resist to the last.

On the following day a messenger of higher rank was sent, Claude Hamilton, Lord Strabane, one of the few Roman Catholic peers of Ireland. Murray, who had been appointed to the command of one of the eight regiments into which the garrison was distributed, advanced from the gate to meet the flag of truce; and a short conference was held. Strabane had been authorised to make large promises. The citizens should have a free pardon for all that was past if they would submit to their lawful Sovereign. Murray himself should have a colonel's commission, and a thousand pounds in money. "The men of Londonderry," answered Murray, "have done nothing that requires a pardon, and own no Sovereign but King William and Queen Mary. It will not be safe for

your Lordship to stay longer, or to return on the same errand. Let me have the honour of seeing you through the lines."

James had been assured, and had fully expected, that the city would yield as soon as it was known that he was before the walls. Finding himself mistaken, he broke loose from the control of Melfort, and determined to return instantly to Dublin. Rosen accompanied the King. The direction of the siege was intrusted to Maumont. Richard Hamilton was second, and Pusignan third, in command.

The operations now commenced in earnest. The besiegers began by battering the town. It was soon on fire in several places. Roofs and upper stories of houses fell in, and crushed the inmates. During a short time the garrison, many of whom had never before seen the effect of a cannonade, seemed to be discomposed by the crash of chimneys, and by the heaps of ruin mingled with disfigured corpses. But familiarity with danger and horror produced in a few hours the natural effect. The spirit of the people rose so high that their chiefs thought it safe to act on the offensive. On the twenty first of April a sally was made under the command of Murray. The Irish stood their ground resolutely; and a furious and bloody contest took place. Maumont, at the head of a body of cavalry, flew to the place where the fight was raging. He was struck in the head by a musket ball, and fell a corpse. The besiegers

lost several other officers, and about two hundred men, before the colonists could be driven in. Murray escaped with difficulty. His horse was killed under him; and he was beset by enemies: but he was able to defend himself till some of his friends made a rush from the gate to his rescue, with old Walker at their head.

In consequence of the death of Maumont, Hamilton was once more commander of the Irish army. His exploits in that post did not raise his reputation. He was a fine gentleman and a brave soldier; but he had no pretensions to the character of a great general, and had never, in his life, seen a siege. Pusignan had more science and energy. But Pusignan survived Maumont little more than a fortnight. At four in the morning of the sixth of May, the garrison made another sally, took several flags, and killed many of the besiegers. Pusignan, fighting gallantly, was shot through the body. The wound was one which a skilful surgeon might have cured: but there was no such surgeon in the Irish camp; and the communication with Dublin was slow and irregular. The poor Frenchman died, complaining bitterly of the barbarous ignorance and negligence which had shortened his days. A medical man, who had been sent down express from the capital, arrived after the funeral. James, in consequence, as it should seem, of this disaster, established a daily post between Dublin Castle and Hamilton's head quarters. Even by this conveyance letters did

not travel very expeditiously: for the couriers went on foot; and, from fear probably of the Enniskilleners, took a circuitous route from military post to military post.

May passed away: June arrived; and still Londonderry held out. There had been many sallies and skirmishes with various success: but, on the whole, the advantage had been with the garrison. Several officers of note had been carried prisoners into the city; and two French banners, torn after hard fighting from the besiegers, had been hung as trophies in the chancel of the Cathedral. It seemed that the siege must be turned into a blockade. But before the hope of reducing the town by main force was relinquished, it was determined to make a great effort. The point selected for assault was an outwork called Windmill Hill, which was not far from the southern gate. Religious stimulants were employed to animate the courage of the forlorn hope. Many volunteers bound themselves by oath to make their way into the works or to perish in the attempt. Captain Butler, son of the Lord Mountgarret, undertook to lead the sworn men to the attack. On the walls the colonists were drawn up in three ranks. The office of those who were behind was to load the muskets of those who were in front. The Irish came on boldly and with a fearful uproar, but after long and hard fighting were driven back. The women of Londonderry were seen amidst the thickest fire serving

out water and ammunition to their husbands and brothers. In one place, where the wall was only seven feet high, Butler and some of his sworn men succeeded in reaching the top; but they were all killed or made prisoners. At length, after four hundred of the Irish had fallen, their chiefs ordered a retreat to be sounded.

Nothing was left but to try the effect of hunger. It was known that the stock of food in the city was but slender. Indeed it was thought strange that the supplies should have held out so long. Every precaution was now taken against the introduction of provisions. All the avenues leading to the city by land were closely guarded. On the south were encamped, along the left bank of the Foyle, the horsemen who had followed Lord Galmoy from the valley of the Barrow. Their chief was of all the Irish captains the most dreaded and the most abhorred by the Protestants. For he had disciplined his men with rare skill and care; and many frightful stories were told of his barbarity and perfidy. Long lines of tents, occupied by the infantry of Butler and O'Neil, of Lord Slane and Lord Gormanstown, by Nugent's Westmeath men, by Eustace's Kildare men and by Cavanagh's Kerry men, extended northward till they again approached the water side. The river was fringed with forts and batteries which no vessel could pass without great peril. After some time it was determined to make the security still more complete by

throwing a barricade across the stream, about a mile and a half below the city. Several boats full of stones were sunk. A row of stakes was driven into the bottom of the river. Large pieces of fir wood, strongly bound together, formed a boom which was more than a quarter of a mile in length, and which was firmly fastened to both shores, by cables a foot thick. A huge stone, to which the cable on the left bank was attached, was removed many years later, for the purpose of being polished and shaped into a column. But the intention was abandoned and the rugged mass still lies, not many yards from its original site, amidst the shades which surround a pleasant country house named Boom Hall. Hard by is the well from which the besiegers drank. A little further off is the burial ground where they laid their slain, and where even in our own time the spade of the gardener has struck upon many skulls and thighbones at a short distance beneath the turf and flowers.

An expedition which was thought to be sufficient for the relief of Londonderry was despatched from Liverpool under the command of Kirke. . . . On the sixteenth of May, Kirke's troops embarked: on the twenty second they sailed: but contrary winds made the passage slow, and forced the armament to stop long at the Isle of Man. Meanwhile the Protestants of Ulster were defending themselves with stubborn courage against

a great superiority of force. The Enniskilleners had never ceased to wage a vigorous partisan war against the native population. Early in May they marched to encounter a large body of troops from Connaught, who had made an inroad into Donegal. The Irish were speedily routed, and fled to Sligo with the loss of a hundred and twenty men killed and sixty taken. Two small pieces of artillery and several horses fell into the hands of the conquerors. Elated by this success, the Enniskilleners soon invaded the county of Cavan, drove before them fifteen hundred of James's troops, took and destroyed the castle of Ballincarrig, reputed the strongest in that part of the kingdom, and carried off the pikes and muskets of the garrison. The next incursion was into Meath. Three thousand oxen and two thousand sheep were swept away and brought safe to the little island in Lough Erne. These daring exploits spread terror even to the gates of Dublin. Colonel Hugh Sutherland was ordered to march against Enniskillen with a regiment of dragoons and two regiments of foot. He carried with him arms for the native peasantry; and many repaired to his standard. The Enniskilleners did not wait till he came into their neighbourhood, but advanced to encounter him. He declined an action, and retreated, leaving his stores at Belturbet under the care of a detachment of three hundred soldiers. The Protestants attacked Belturbet with vigour, made their way

into a lofty house which overlooked the town, and thence opened such a fire that in two hours the garrison surrendered. Seven hundred muskets, a great quantity of powder, many horses, many sacks of biscuits, many barrels of meal, were taken, and were sent to Enniskillen. The boats which brought these precious spoils were joyfully welcomed. The fear of hunger was removed. While the aboriginal population had, in many counties, altogether neglected the cultivation of the earth, in the expectation, it should seem, that marauding would prove an inexhaustible resource, the colonists, true to the provident and industrious character of their race, had, in the midst of war, not omitted carefully to till the soil in the neighbourhood of their strongholds. The harvest was now not far remote; and, till the harvest, the food taken from the enemy would be amply sufficient.

Yet, in the midst of success and plenty, the Enniskilleners were tortured by a cruel anxiety for Londonderry. They were bound to the defenders of that city, not only by religious and national sympathy, but by common interest. For there could be no doubt that, if Londonderry fell, the whole Irish army would instantly march in irresistible force upon Lough Erne. Yet what could be done? Some brave men were for making a desperate attempt to relieve the besieged city; but the odds were too great. Detachments however were sent which infested

the rear of the blockading army, cut off supplies, and, on one occasion, carried away the horses of three entire troops of cavalry. Still the line of posts which surrounded Londonderry by land remained unbroken. The river was still strictly closed and guarded. Within the walls the distress had become extreme. So early as the eighth of June horseflesh was almost the only meat which could be purchased; and of horseflesh the supply was scanty. It was necessary to make up the deficiency with tallow; and even tallow was doled out with a parsimonious hand.

On the fifteenth of June a gleam of hope appeared. The sentinels on the top of the Cathedral saw sails nine miles off in the bay of Lough Foyle. Thirty vessels of different sizes were counted. Signals were made from the steeples and returned from the mast heads, but were imperfectly understood on both sides. At last a messenger from the fleet eluded the Irish sentinels, dived under the boom, and informed the garrison that Kirke had arrived from England with troops, arms, ammunition, and provisions to relieve the city.

In Londonderry expectation was at the height: but a few hours of feverish joy were followed by weeks of misery. Kirke thought it unsafe to make any attempt, either by land or by water, on the lines of the besiegers, and retired to the entrance of Lough Foyle, where, during several weeks, he lay inactive.

And now the pressure of famine became every day more severe. A strict search was made in all the recesses of all the houses of the city; and some provisions, which had been concealed in cellars by people who had since died or made their escape, were discovered and carried to the magazines. The stock of cannon balls was almost exhausted; and their place was supplied by brick-bats coated with lead. Pestilence began, as usual, to make its appearance in the train of hunger. Fifteen officers died of fever in one day. The Governor Baker was among those who sank under the disease. His place was supplied by Colonel John Mitchelburne.

Meanwhile it was known at Dublin that Kirke and his squadron were on the coast of Ulster. The alarm was great at the Castle. Even before this news arrived, Avaux had given it as his opinion that Richard Hamilton was unequal to the difficulties of the situation. It had therefore been resolved that Rosen should take the chief command. He was now sent down with all speed.

On the nineteenth of June he arrived at the head quarters of the besieging army. At first he attempted to undermine the walls; but his plan was discovered; and he was compelled to abandon it after a sharp fight, in which more than a hundred of his men were slain. Then his fury rose to a strange pitch. He, an old soldier, a Marshal of France in expectancy, trained in the

school of the greatest generals, accustomed, during many years, to scientific war, to be baffled by a mob of country gentlemen, farmers, shopkeepers, who were protected only by a wall which any good engineer would at once have pronounced untenable! He raved, he blasphemed, in a language of his own, made up of all the dialects spoken from the Baltic to the Atlantic. He would raze the city to the ground: he would spare no living thing; no, not the young girls; not the babies at the breast. As to the leaders, death was too light a punishment for them: he would rack them: he would roast them alive. In his rage he ordered a shell to be flung into the town with a letter containing a horrible menace. He would, he said, gather into one body all the Protestants who had remained at their homes between Charlemont and the sea, old men, women, children, many of them near in blood and affection to the defenders of Londonderry. No protection, whatever might be the authority by which it had been given, should be respected. The multitude thus brought together should be driven under the walls of Londonderry, and should there be starved to death in the sight of their countrymen, their friends, their kinsmen. This was no idle threat. Parties were instantly sent out in all directions to collect victims. At dawn, on the morning of the second of July, hundreds of Protestants, who were charged with no crime, who were incapable of bearing arms, and many of whom had protections

granted by James, were dragged to the gates of the city. It was imagined that the piteous sight would quell the spirit of the colonists. But the only effect was to rouse that spirit to still greater energy. An order was immediately put forth that no man should utter the word Surrender on pain of death; and no man uttered that word. Several prisoners of high rank were in the town. Hitherto they had been well treated, and had received as good rations as were measured out to the garrison. They were now closely confined. A gallows was erected on one of the bastions; and a message was conveyed to Rosen, requesting him to send a confessor instantly to prepare his friends for death. The prisoners in great dismay wrote to the savage Livonian, but received no answer. They then addressed themselves to their countryman, Richard Hamilton. They were willing, they said, to shed their blood for their King; but they thought it hard to die the ignominious death of thieves in consequence of the barbarity of their own companions in arms. Hamilton, though a man of lax principles, was not cruel. He had been disgusted by the inhumanity of Rosen, but, being only second in command, could not venture to express publicly all that he thought. He however remonstrated strongly. Some Irish officers felt on this occasion as it was natural that brave men should feel, and declared, weeping with pity and indignation, that they should never cease to have in their ears the cries of the poor women

and children who had been driven at the point of the pike to die of famine between the camp and the city. Rosen persisted during forty eight hours. In that time many unhappy creatures perished: but Londonderry held out as resolutely as ever; and he saw that his crime was likely to produce nothing but hatred and obloquy. He at length gave way, and suffered the survivors to withdraw. The garrison then took down the gallows which had been erected on the bastion.

When the tidings of these events reached Dublin, James, though by no means prone to compassion, was startled by an atrocity of which the civil wars of England had furnished no example, and was displeased by learning that protections, given by his authority, and guaranteed by his honour, had been publicly declared to be nullities. He complained to the French ambassador, and said, with a warmth which the occasion fully justified, that Rosen was a barbarous Muscovite. Melfort could not refrain from adding that, if Rosen had been an Englishman, he would have been hanged. Avaux was utterly unable to understand this effeminate sensibility. In his opinion, nothing had been done that was at all reprehensible; and he had some difficulty in commanding himself when he heard the King and the secretary blame, in strong language, an act of wholesome severity. In truth the French ambassador and the French general were well paired. There was a great difference doubtless,

in appearance and manner, between the handsome, graceful, and refined diplomatist, whose dexterity and suavity had been renowned at the most polite courts of Europe, and the military adventurer, whose look and voice reminded all who came near him that he had been born in a half savage country, that he had risen from the ranks, and that he had once been sentenced to death for marauding. But the heart of the courtier was really even more callous than that of the soldier.

Rosen was recalled to Dublin; and Richard Hamilton was again left in the chief command. He tried gentler means than those which had brought so much reproach on his predecessor. No trick, no lie, which was thought likely to discourage the starving garrison was spared. One day a great shout was raised by the whole Irish camp. The defenders of Londonderry were soon informed that the army of James was rejoicing on account of the fall of Enniskillen. They were told that they had now no chance of being relieved, and were exhorted to save their lives by capitulating. They consented to negotiate. But what they asked was, that they should be permitted to depart armed and in military array, by land or by water at their choice. They demanded hostages for the exact fulfilment of these conditions, and insisted that the hostages should be sent on board of the fleet which lay in Lough Foyle. Such terms Hamilton durst not

grant: the Governors would abate nothing: the treaty was broken off; and the conflict recommenced.

By this time July was far advanced; and the state of the city was, hour by hour, becoming more frightful. The number of the inhabitants had been thinned more by famine and disease than by the fire of the enemy. Yet that fire was sharper and more constant than ever. One of the gates was beaten in: one of the bastions was laid in ruins; but the breaches made by day were repaired by night with indefatigable activity. Every attack was still repelled. But the fighting men of the garrison were so much exhausted that they could scarcely keep their legs. Several of them, in the act of striking at the enemy, fell down from mere weakness. A very small quantity of grain remained, and was doled out by mouthfuls. The stock of salted hides was considerable, and by gnawing them the garrison appeased the rage of hunger. Dogs, fattened on the blood of the slain who lay unburied round the town, were luxuries which few could afford to purchase. The price of a whelp's paw was five shillings and sixpence. Nine horses were still alive, and but barely alive. They were so lean that little meat was likely to be found upon them. It was, however, determined to slaughter them for food. The people perished so fast that it was impossible for the survivors to perform the rites of sepulture. There was scarcely a cellar in which some corpse

was not decaying. Such was the extremity of distress, that the rats who came to feast in those hideous dens were eagerly hunted and greedily devoured. A small fish, caught in the river, was not to be purchased with money. The only price for which such a treasure could be obtained was some handfuls of oatmeal. Leprosies, such as strange and unwholesome diet engenders, made existence a constant torment. The whole city was poisoned by the stench exhaled from the bodies of the dead and of the half dead. That there should be fits of discontent and insubordination among men enduring such misery was inevitable. At one moment it was suspected that Walker had laid up somewhere a secret store of food, and was revelling in private, while he exhorted others to suffer resolutely for the good cause. His house was strictly examined: his innocence was fully proved: he regained his popularity; and the garrison, with death in near prospect, thronged to the cathedral to hear him preach, drank in his earnest eloquence with delight, and went forth from the house of God with haggard faces and tottering steps, but with spirit still unsubdued. There were, indeed, some secret plottings. A very few obscure traitors opened communications with the enemy. But it was necessary that all such dealings should be carefully concealed. None dared to utter publicly any words save words of defiance and stubborn resolution. Even in that extremity the general

cry was "No surrender." And there were not wanting voices which, in low tones, added, "First the horses and hides; and then the prisoners; and then each other." It was afterwards related, half in jest, yet not without a horrible mixture of earnest, that a corpulent citizen, whose bulk presented a strange contrast to the skeletons which surrounded him, thought it expedient to conceal himself from the numerous eyes which followed him with cannibal looks whenever he appeared in the streets.

It was no slight aggravation of the sufferings of the garrison that all this time the English ships were seen far off in Lough Foyle. Communication between the fleet and the city was almost impossible. One diver who had attempted to pass the boom was drowned. Another was hanged. The language of signals was hardly intelligible. On the thirteenth of July, however, a piece of paper sewed up in a cloth button came to Walker's hands. It was a letter from Kirke, and contained assurances of speedy relief. But more than a fortnight of intense misery had since elapsed; and the hearts of the most sanguine were sick with deferred hope. By no art could the provisions which were left be made to hold out two days more.

Just at this time Kirke received a despatch from England, which contained positive orders that Londonderry should be relieved. He accordingly determined to make an attempt which,

as far as appears, he might have made, with at least an equally fair prospect of success, six weeks earlier.

Among the merchant ships which had come to Lough Foyle under his convoy was one called the Mountjoy. The master, Micaiah Browning, a native of Londonderry, had brought from England a large cargo of provisions. He had, it is said, repeatedly remonstrated against the inaction of the armament. He now eagerly volunteered to take the first risk of succouring his fellow citizens; and his offer was accepted. Andrew Douglas, master of the Phœnix, who had on board a great quantity of meal from Scotland, was willing to share the danger of the honour. The two merchantmen were to be escorted by the Dartmouth frigate of thirty six guns, commanded by Captain John Leake, afterwards an admiral of great fame.

It was the thirtieth of July. The sun had just set: the evening sermon in the cathedral was over; and the heartbroken congregation had separated, when the sentinels on the tower saw the sails of three vessels coming up the Foyle. Soon there was a stir in the Irish camp. The besiegers were on the alert for miles along both shores. The ships were in extreme peril: for the river was low; and the only navigable channel ran very near to the left bank, where the head quarters of the enemy had been fixed, and where the batteries were most numerous. Leake

performed his duty with a skill and spirit worthy of his noble profession, exposed his frigate to cover the merchantmen, and used his guns with great effect. At length the little squadron came to the place of peril. Then the Mountjoy took the lead, and went right at the boom. The huge barricade cracked and gave way: but the shock was such that the Mountjoy rebounded, and stuck in the mud. A yell of triumph rose from the banks: the Irish rushed to their boats, and were preparing to board; but the Dartmouth poured on them a well directed broadside, which threw them into disorder. Just then the Phœnix dashed at the breach which the Mountjoy had made, and was in a moment within the fence. Meantime the tide was rising fast. The Mountjoy began to move, and soon passed safe through the broken stakes and floating spars. But her brave master was no more. A shot from one of the batteries had struck him; and he died by the most enviable of all deaths, in sight of the city which was his birthplace, which was his home, and which had just been saved by his courage and self-devotion from the most frightful form of destruction. The night had closed in before the conflict at the boom began; but the flash of the guns was seen, and the noise heard, by the lean and ghastly multitude which covered the walls of the city. When the Mountjoy grounded, and when the shout of triumph rose from the Irish on both sides of the river, the hearts of the besieged died within them.

One who endured the unutterable anguish of that moment has told us that they looked fearfully livid in each other's eyes. Even after the barricade had been passed, there was a terrible half hour of suspense. It was ten o'clock before the ships arrived at the quay. The whole population was there to welcome them. A screen made of casks filled with earth was hastily thrown up to protect the landing place from the batteries on the other side of the river; and then the work of unloading began. First were rolled on shore barrels containing six thousand bushels of meal. Then came great cheeses, casks of beef, flitches of bacon, kegs of butter, sacks of pease and biscuit, ankers of brandy. Not many hours before, half a pound of tallow and three quarters of a pound of salted hide had been weighed out with niggardly care to every fighting man. The ration which each now received was three pounds of flour, two pounds of beef, and a pint of pease. It is easy to imagine with what tears grace was said over the suppers of that evening. There was little sleep on either side of the wall. The bonfires shone bright along the whole circuit of the ramparts. The Irish guns continued to roar all night; and all night the bells of the rescued city made answer to the Irish guns with a peal of joyous defiance. Through the whole of the thirty first of July the batteries of the enemy continued to play. But, soon after the sun had again gone down, flames were seen arising from the camp; and, when

the first of August dawned, a line of smoking ruins marked the site lately occupied by the huts of the besiegers; and the citizens saw far off the long column of pikes and standards retreating up the left bank of the Foyle towards Strabane.

So ended this great siege, the most memorable in the annals of the British Isles. It had lasted a hundred and five days. The garrison had been reduced from about seven thousand effective men to about three thousand. The loss of the besiegers cannot be precisely ascertained. Walker estimated it at eight thousand men. It is certain from the despatches of Avaux that the regiments which returned from the blockade had been so much thinned that many of them were not more than two hundred strong. Of thirty six French gunners who had superintended the cannonading, thirty one had been killed or disabled. The means both of attack and of defence had undoubtedly been such as would have moved the great warriors of the Continent to laughter; and this is the very circumstance which gives so peculiar an interest to the history of the contest. It was a contest, not between engineers, but between nations; and the victory remained with the nation which, though inferior in number, was superior in civilisation, in capacity for selfgovernment, and in stubbornness of resolution.

As soon as it was known that the Irish army had retired, a deputation from the city hastened

to Lough Foyle, and invited Kirke to take the command. He came accompanied by a long train of officers, and was received in state by the two Governors, who delivered up to him the authority which, under the pressure of necessity, they had assumed. He remained only a few days; but he had time to show enough of the incurable vices of his character to disgust a population distinguished by austere morals and ardent public spirit. There was, however, no outbreak. The city was in the highest good humour. Such quantities of provisions had been landed from the fleet, that there was in every house a plenty never before known. A few days earlier a man had been glad to obtain for twenty pence a mouthful of carrion scraped from the bones of a starved horse. A pound of good beef was now sold for three halfpence. Meanwhile all hands were busied in removing corpses which had been thinly covered with earth, in filling up the holes which the shells had ploughed in the ground, and in repairing the battered roofs of the houses. The recollection of past dangers and privations, and the consciousness of having deserved well of the English nation and of all Protestant Churches, swelled the hearts of the townspeople with honest pride. That pride grew stronger when they received from William a letter acknowledging, in the most affectionate language, the debt which he owed to the brave and trusty citizens of his good city. The whole population crowded to the Diamond to hear the

royal epistle read. At the close all the guns on the ramparts sent forth a voice of joy: all the ships in the river made answer: barrels of ale were broken up; and the health of their Majesties was drunk with shouts and volleys of musketry.

III.

THE MASSACRE OF GLENCOE.

THE massacre of Glencoe belongs to the History of Scotland, as the siege of Londonderry to that of Ireland. But although an equally striking, it is perhaps a less significant event. The circumstances and immediate causes of the massacre are sufficiently explained in the extract here given. Though an incident in the reign of William III., it is in another sense a mere episode in the Highland civil warfare which from time immemorial had taken a more or less barbarous and terrible form. The wilder parts of all European countries at this date (1691) were far behind the more settled districts in civilisation. And the clan system which still existed in the Highlands of Scotland was a relic of almost pre-feudal times. In fact, the attempt to exert a sort of feudal lordship over the other clans by the Campbells, whose chief was the Marquess of Argyle (the MacCallum More), was in great part responsible for the Massacre. The hereditary feuds of the clans led to bloodshed, plunder, and lawless behaviour in general, such as had been customary in England before the Wars of the Roses. But whereas, in mediaeval times, there had in the last resort always been the sense of a higher authority, namely that of the monarch, or overlord, the Highland chiefs owned no such supremacy, nor was it possible for overlordship in any real sense to be exercised in districts where ordinary soldiers were unable to pursue the rebels, or to be maintained and fed in the

course of the campaign. The only way to overawe such people under such conditions was to build a chain of fortresses across the whole district, in which to maintain strong permanent garrisons. A beginning of this sort had been made upon the suggestion of Andrew Mackay, a soldier of fortune, but a Highlander by birth, who had served with distinction on the Continent, and had been made (1689) Commander of William's forces in Scotland. By his advice, Fort William was built (1690) at Inverlochy upon the site of an ancient castle. Though defeated at the battle of Killiecrankie (1689) by Dundee, who had gathered a Highland army in favour of King James, Mackay had succeeded in bringing the war in the Highlands to a nominal close, and William's Government was established at Edinburgh, under Lord Melville as High Commissioner. The real power, however, fell into the hands of the Dalrymples, the elder of whom had been raised to the peerage as Viscount Stair, and his son, the Master of Stair, Secretary of State for Scotland, was the person immediately responsible for the massacre. His excuse—the necessity of "making an example"—is one that can rarely be accepted. But it was peculiarly unjustifiable on this occasion, from the fact that the Highlands had actually been pacified. It was therefore a mistake in policy, as well as in humanity, if ever such a distinction can be made. It is strange that the horror now felt for the crime was not more universal at the time it was committed. The difficulty of communication in those remote districts, and still more the fact that so many lying stories were circulated by the adherents of both sides, Jacobites and Revolutionists, made it long before the story was, in the first place, reported, and, in the second place, credited. It can hardly be held that William permitted the Massacre in the first instance, for the document signed by him, which was taken as giving his sanction to the deed, could not properly bear the interpretation put upon it by the Master of Stair. But his failure to punish

the criminal with severity was a real blot on his fame. The official report on the Massacre was only laid before him in the summer of 1695, more than three years after it had taken place. William contented himself with dismissing the Master of Stair from his office as Secretary of State for Scotland. A mere error of policy is sometimes sufficiently atoned for by the dismissal of an official. But William is open to the charge of having been too lenient to a minister, who had shewn himself so zealous in his sovereign's cause as to be willing to commit a crime on his behalf.

JOHN Earl of Breadalbane, the head of a younger branch of the great House of Campbell, ranked high among the petty princes of the mountains. He could bring seventeen hundred claymores into the field; and, ten years before the Revolution, he had actually marched into the Lowlands with this great force for the purpose of supporting the prelatical tyranny. In those days he had affected zeal for monarchy and episcopacy: but in truth he cared for no government and no religion. He seems to have united two different sets of vices, the growth of two different regions, and of two different stages in the progress of society. In his castle among the hills he had learned the barbarian pride and ferocity of a Highland chief. In the Council Chamber at Edinburgh he had contracted the deep taint of treachery and corruption. After the Revolution he had, like too many of his fellow nobles, joined and betrayed every party in

turn, had sworn fealty to William and Mary, and had plotted against them. To trace all the turns and doublings of his course, during the year 1689 and the earlier part of 1690, would be wearisome. That course became somewhat less tortuous when the battle of the Boyne had cowed the spirit of the Jacobites. It now seemed probable that the Earl would be a loyal subject of their Majesties, till some great disaster should befall them. Nobody who knew him could trust him: but few Scottish statesmen could then be trusted; and yet Scottish statesmen must be employed. His position and connections marked him out as a man who might, if he would, do much towards the work of quieting the Highlands; and his interest seemed to be a guarantee for his zeal. He had, as he declared with every appearance of truth, strong personal reasons for wishing to see tranquillity restored. His domains were so situated that, while the civil war lasted, his vassals could not tend their herds or sow their oats in peace. His lands were daily ravaged: his cattle were daily driven away: one of his houses had been burned down. It was probable, therefore, that he would do his best to put an end to hostilities.

He was accordingly commissioned to treat with the Jacobite chiefs, and was entrusted with the money which was to be distributed among them. He invited them to a conference at his residence in Glenorchy. They came: but the treaty went on very slowly. Every head of a

tribe asked for a larger share of the English gold than was to be obtained. Breadalbane was suspected of intending to cheat both the clans and the King. The dispute between the rebels and the government was complicated with another dispute still more embarrassing. The Camerons and Macdonalds were really at war, not with William, but with Mac Callum More; and no arrangement to which Mac Callum More was not a party could really produce tranquillity. A grave question therefore arose, whether the money entrusted to Breadalbane should be paid directly to the discontented chiefs, or should be employed to satisfy the claims which Argyle had upon them. The shrewdness of Lochiel and the arrogant pretensions of Glengarry contributed to protract the discussions. But no Celtic potentate was so impracticable as Macdonald of Glencoe, known among the mountains by the hereditary appellation of Mac Ian.

Mac Ian dwelt in the mouth of a ravine situated not far from the southern shore of Lochleven, an arm of the sea which deeply indents the western coast of Scotland, and separates Argyleshire from Invernesshire. Near his house were two or three small hamlets inhabited by his tribe. The whole population which he governed was not supposed to exceed two hundred souls. In the neighbourhood of the little cluster of villages was some copsewood and some pasture land: but a little further up the defile no sign of population or of

fruitfulness was to be seen. In the Gaelic tongue Glencoe signifies the Glen of Weeping; and in truth that pass is the most dreary and melancholy of all the Scottish passes, the very Valley of the Shadow of Death. Mists and storms brood over it through the greater part of the finest summer; and even on those rare days when the sun is bright, and when there is no cloud in the sky, the impression made by the landscape is sad and awful. The path lies along a stream which issues from the most sullen and gloomy of mountain pools. Huge precipices of naked stone frown on both sides. Even in July the streaks of snow may often be discerned in the rifts near the summits. All down the sides of the crags heaps of ruin mark the headlong paths of the torrents. Mile after mile the traveller looks in vain for the smoke of one hut, for one human form wrapped in a plaid, and listens in vain for the bark of a shepherd's dog or the bleat of a lamb. Mile after mile the only sound that indicates life is the faint cry of a bird of prey from some stormbeaten pinnacle of rock. The progress of civilisation, which has turned so many wastes into fields yellow with harvests or gay with apple blossoms, has only made Glencoe more desolate. All the science and industry of a peaceful age can extract nothing valuable from that wilderness: but, in an age of violence and rapine, the wilderness itself was valued on account of the shelter which it afforded to the plunderer and his plunder. Nothing

could be more natural than that the clan to which this rugged desert belonged should have been noted for predatory habits. For, among the Highlanders generally, to rob was thought at least as honourable an employment as to cultivate the soil; and, of all the Highlanders, the Macdonalds of Glencoe had the least productive soil, and the most convenient and secure den of robbers. Successive governments had tried to punish this wild race: but no large force had ever been employed for that purpose; and a small force was easily resisted or eluded by men familiar with every recess and every outlet of the natural fortress in which they had been born and bred. The people of Glencoe would probably have been less troublesome neighbours if they had lived among their own kindred. But they were an outpost of the Clan Donald, separated from every other branch of their own family, and almost surrounded by the domains of the hostile race of Diarmid. They were impelled by hereditary enmity, as well as by want, to live at the expense of the tribe of Campbell. Breadalbane's property had suffered greatly from their depredations; and he was not of a temper to forgive such injuries. When, therefore, the Chief of Glencoe made his appearance at the congress in Glenorchy, he was ungraciously received. The Earl, who ordinarily bore himself with the solemn dignity of a Castilian grandee, forgot, in his resentment, his wonted gravity, forgot his public character, forgot the

laws of hospitality, and, with angry reproaches and menaces, demanded reparation for the herds which had been driven from his lands by Mac Ian's followers. Mac Ian was seriously apprehensive of some personal outrage, and was glad to get safe back to his own glen. His pride had been wounded; and the promptings of interest concurred with those of pride. As the head of a people who lived by pillage, he had strong reasons for wishing that the country might continue to be in a perturbed state. He had little chance of receiving one guinea of the money which was to be distributed among the malcontents. For his share of that money would scarcely meet Breadalbane's demands for compensation; and there could be little doubt that, whoever might be unpaid, Breadalbane would take care to pay himself. Mac Ian therefore did his best to dissuade his allies from accepting terms from which he could himself expect no benefit; and his influence was not small. His own vassals, indeed, were few in number: but he came of the best blood of the Highlands: he had kept up a close connection with his more powerful kinsmen; nor did they like him the less because he was a robber; for he never robbed them; and that robbery, merely as robbery, was a wicked and disgraceful act, had never entered into the mind of any Celtic chief. Mac Ian was therefore held in high esteem by the confederates. His age was venerable: his aspect was majestic; and he

possessed in large measure those intellectual qualities which, in rude societies, give men an ascendency over their fellows. Breadalbane found himself, at every step of the negotiation, thwarted by the arts of his old enemy, and abhorred the name of Glencoe more and more every day.

But the government did not trust solely to Breadalbane's diplomatic skill. The authorities at Edinburgh put forth a proclamation exhorting the clans to submit to King William and Queen Mary, and offering pardon to every rebel who, on or before the 31st of December 1691, should swear to live peaceably under the government of their Majesties. It was announced that those who should hold out after that day would be treated as enemies and traitors. Warlike preparations were made, which showed that the threat was meant in earnest. The Highlanders were alarmed, and, though the pecuniary terms had not been satisfactorily settled, thought it prudent to give the pledge which was demanded of them. No chief, indeed, was willing to set the example of submission. Glengarry blustered, and pretended to fortify his house. "I will not," said Lochiel, "break the ice. That is a point of honour with me. But my tacksmen and people may use their freedom." His tacksmen and people understood him, and repaired by hundreds to the Sheriff to take the oaths. The Macdonalds of Sleat, Clanronald, Keppoch, and even Glengarry, imitated the Camerons; and the chiefs,

after trying to outstay each other as long as they durst, imitated their vassals.

The thirty-first of December arrived; and still the Macdonalds of Glencoe had not come in. The punctilious pride of Mac Ian was doubtless gratified by the thought that he had continued to defy the government after the boastful Glengarry, the ferocious Keppoch, the magnanimous Lochiel had yielded: but he bought his gratification dear. At length, on the thirty-first of December, he repaired to Fort William, accompanied by his principal vassals, and offered to take the oaths. To his dismay he found that there was in the fort no person competent to administer them. Colonel Hill, the Governor, was not a magistrate; nor was there any magistrate nearer than Inverary. Mac Ian, now fully sensible of the folly of which he had been guilty in postponing to the very last moment an act on which his life and his estate depended, set off for Inverary in great distress. He carried with him a letter from Hill to the Sheriff of Argyleshire, Sir Colin Campbell of Ardkinglass, a respectable gentleman, who, in the late reign, had suffered severely for his Whig principles. In this letter the Colonel expressed a goodnatured hope that, even out of season, a lost sheep, and so fine a lost sheep, would be gladly received. Mac Ian made all the haste in his power, and did not stop even at his own house, though it lay nigh to the road. But at that time a journey through Argyleshire in the depth of

winter was necessarily slow. The old man's progress up steep mountains and along boggy valleys was obstructed by snow storms; and it was not till the sixth of January that he presented himself before the Sheriff at Inverary. The Sheriff hesitated. His power, he said, was limited by the terms of the proclamation, and he did not see how he could swear a rebel who had not submitted within the prescribed time. Mac Ian begged earnestly and with tears that he might be sworn. His people, he said, would follow his example. If any of them proved refractory, he would himself send the recusant to prison, or ship him off for Flanders. His entreaties and Hill's letter overcame Sir Colin's scruples. The oath was administered; and a certificate was transmitted to the Council at Edinburgh, setting forth the special circumstances which had induced the Sheriff to do what he knew not to be strictly regular.

The news that Mac Ian had not submitted within the prescribed time was received with cruel joy by three powerful Scotchmen who were then at the English Court. Breadalbane had gone up to London at Christmas in order to give an account of his stewardship. There he met his kinsman Argyle. Argyle was, in personal qualities, one of the most insignificant of the long line of nobles who have borne that great name. He was the descendant of eminent men, and the parent of eminent men. He was the grandson of one of the ablest of Scottish politicians; the son of one

of the bravest and most truehearted of Scottish patriots; the father of one Mac Callum More renowned as a warrior and as an orator, as the model of every courtly grace, and as the judicious patron of arts and letters, and of another Mac Callum More distinguished by talents for business and command, and by skill in the exact sciences. Both of such an ancestry and of such a progeny Argyle was unworthy. He had even been guilty of the crime, common enough among Scottish politicians, but in him singularly disgraceful, of tampering with the agents of James while professing loyalty to William. Still Argyle had the importance inseparable from high rank, vast domains, extensive feudal rights, and almost boundless patriarchal authority. To him, as to his cousin Breadalbane, the intelligence that the tribe of Glencoe was out of the protection of the law was most gratifying; and the Master of Stair more than sympathised with them both.

The feeling of Argyle and Breadalbane is perfectly intelligible. They were the heads of a great clan; and they had an opportunity of destroying a neighbouring clan with which they were at deadly feud. Breadalbane had received peculiar provocation. His estate had been repeatedly devastated; and he had just been thwarted in a negotiation of high moment. Unhappily there was scarcely any excess of ferocity for which a precedent could not be found in Celtic tradition. Among all warlike barbarians revenge

is esteemed the most sacred of duties and the most exquisite of pleasures; and so it had long been esteemed among the Highlanders. The history of the clans abounds with frightful tales, some perhaps fabulous or exaggerated, some certainly true, of vindictive massacres and assassinations. The Macdonalds of Glengarry, for example, having been affronted by the people of Culloden, surrounded Culloden church on a Sunday, shut the doors, and burned the whole congregation alive. While the flames were raging, the hereditary musician of the murderers mocked the shrieks of the perishing crowd with the notes of his bagpipe. A band of Macgregors, having cut off the head of an enemy, laid it, the mouth filled with bread and cheese, on his sister's table, and had the satisfaction of seeing her go mad with horror at the sight. They then carried the ghastly trophy in triumph to their chief. The whole clan met under the roof of an ancient church. Every one in turn laid his hand on the dead man's scalp, and vowed to defend the slayers. The inhabitants of Eigg seized some Macleods, bound them hand and foot, and turned them adrift in a boat to be swallowed up by the waves or to perish of hunger. The Macleods retaliated by driving the population of Eigg into a cavern, lighting a fire at the entrance, and suffocating the whole race, men, women, and children. It is much less strange that the two great Earls of the house of Campbell, animated by the passions of

Highland chieftains, should have planned a Highland revenge, than that they should have found an accomplice, and something more than an accomplice, in the Master of Stair.

The Master of Stair was one of the first men of his time, a jurist, a statesman, a fine scholar, an eloquent orator. His polished manners and lively conversation were the delight of aristocratical societies; and none who met him in such societies would have thought it possible that he could bear the chief part in any atrocious crime. His political principles were lax, yet not more lax than those of most Scotch politicians of that age. Cruelty had never been imputed to him. Those who most disliked him did him the justice to own that, where his schemes of policy were not concerned, he was a very goodnatured man. There is not the slightest reason to believe that he gained a single pound Scots by the act which has covered his name with infamy. He had no personal reason to wish the Glencoe men ill. There had been no feud between them and his family. His property lay in a district where their tartan was never seen. Yet he hated them with a hatred as fierce and implacable as if they had laid waste his fields, burned his mansion, murdered his child in the cradle.

To what cause are we to ascribe so strange an antipathy? This question perplexed the Master's contemporaries; and any answer which may now be offered ought to be offered with diffidence.

The most probable conjecture is that he was actuated by an inordinate, an unscrupulous, a remorseless zeal for what seemed to him to be the interest of the state. This explanation may startle those who have not considered how large a proportion of the blackest crimes recorded in history is to be ascribed to ill regulated public spirit. We daily see men do for their party, for their sect, for their country, for their favourite schemes of political and social reform, what they would not do to enrich or to avenge themselves. At a temptation directly addressed to our private cupidity or to our private animosity, whatever virtue we have takes the alarm. But, virtue itself may contribute to the fall of him who imagines that it is in his power, by violating some general rule of morality, to confer an important benefit on a church, on a commonwealth, on mankind. He silences the remonstrances of conscience, and hardens his heart against the most touching spectacles of misery, by repeating to himself that his intentions are pure, that his objects are noble, that he is doing a little evil for the sake of a great good. By degrees he comes altogether to forget the turpitude of the means in the excellence of the end, and at length perpetrates without one internal twinge acts which would shock a buccaneer. There is no reason to believe that Dominic would, for the best archbishopric in christendom, have incited ferocious marauders to plunder and slaughter a peaceful and industrious population,

that Everard Digby would for a dukedom have blown a large assembly of people into the air, or that Robespierre would have murdered for hire one of the thousands whom he murdered from philanthropy.

The Master of Stair seems to have proposed to himself a truly great and good end, the pacification and civilisation of the Highlands. He was, by the acknowledgment of those who most hated him, a man of large views. He justly thought it monstrous that a third part of Scotland should be in a state scarcely less savage than New Guinea, that letters of fire and sword should, through a third part of Scotland, be, century after century, a species of legal process, and that no attempt should be made to apply a radical remedy to such evils. The independence affected by a crowd of petty sovereigns, the contumacious resistance which they were in the habit of offering to the authority of the Crown and of the Court of Session, their wars, their robberies, their fireraisings, their practice of exacting black mail from people more peaceable and more useful than themselves, naturally excited the disgust and indignation of an enlightened and politic gownsman, who was, both by the constitution of his mind and by the habits of his profession, a lover of law and order. His object was no less than a complete dissolution and reconstruction of society in the Highlands, such a dissolution and reconstruction as, two generations later, followed the

battle of Culloden. In his view the clans, as they existed, were the plagues of the kingdom ; and of all the clans, the worst was that which inhabited Glencoe. He had, it is said, been particularly struck by a frightful instance of the lawlessness and ferocity of those marauders. One of them, who had been concerned in some act of violence or rapine, had given information against his companions. He had been bound to a tree and murdered. The old chief had given the first stab ; and scores of dirks had then been plunged into the wretch's body. By the mountaineers such an act was probably regarded as a legitimate exercise of patriarchal jurisdiction. To the Master of Stair it seemed that people among whom such things were done and were approved ought to be treated like a pack of wolves, snared by any device, and slaughtered without mercy. He was well read in history, and doubtless knew how great rulers had, in his own and other countries, dealt with such banditti. He doubtless knew with what energy and what severity James the Fifth had put down the mosstroopers of the border, how the chief of Henderland had been hung over the gate of the castle in which he had prepared a banquet for the King ; how John Armstrong and his thirty-six horsemen, when they came forth to welcome their sovereign, had scarcely been allowed time to say a single prayer before they were all tied up and turned off. Nor probably was the Secretary ignorant of the means

by which Sixtus the Fifth had cleared the ecclesiastical state of outlaws. The eulogists of that great pontiff tell us that there was one formidable gang which could not be dislodged from a stronghold among the Appenines. Beasts of burden were therefore loaded with poisoned food and wine, and sent by a road which ran close to the fastness. The robbers sallied forth, seized the prey, feasted and died; and the pious old Pope exulted greatly when he heard that the corpses of thirty ruffians, who had been the terror of many peaceful villages, had been found lying among the mules and packages. The plans of the Master of Stair were conceived in the spirit of James and of Sixtus; and the rebellion of the mountaineers furnished what seemed to be an excellent opportunity for carrying those plans into effect. Mere rebellion, indeed, he could have easily pardoned. On Jacobites, as Jacobites, he never showed any inclination to bear hard. He hated the Highlanders, not as enemies of this or that dynasty, but as enemies of law, of industry and of trade. In his private correspondence he applied to them the short and terrible form of words in which the implacable Roman pronounced the doom of Carthage. His project was no less than this, that the whole hill country from sea to sea, and the neighbouring islands, should be wasted with fire and sword, that the Camerons, the Macleans, and all the branches of the race of Macdonald, should be rooted out. He therefore looked with no

friendly eye on schemes of reconciliation, and, while others were hoping that a little money would set everything right, hinted very intelligibly his opinion that whatever money was to be laid out on the clans would be best laid out in the form of bullets and bayonets. To the last moment he continued to flatter himself that the rebels would be obstinate, and would thus furnish him with a plea for accomplishing that great social revolution on which his heart was set. The letter is still extant in which he directed the commander of the forces in Scotland how to act if the Jacobite chiefs should not come in before the end of December. There is something strangely terrible in the calmness and conciseness with which the instructions are given. "Your troops will destroy entirely the country of Lochaber, Lochiel's lands, Keppoch's, Glengarry's and Glencoe's. Your power shall be large enough. I hope the soldiers will not trouble the government with prisoners."

This despatch had scarcely been sent off when news arrived in London that the rebel chiefs, after holding out long, had at last appeared before the Sheriffs and taken the oaths. Lochiel, the most eminent man among them, had not only declared that he would live and die a true subject to King William, but had announced his intention of visiting England, in the hope of being permitted to kiss His Majesty's hand. In London it was announced exultingly that every clan, without exception, had submitted in time; and the

announcement was generally thought most satisfactory. But the Master of Stair was bitterly disappointed. The Highlands were then to continue to be what they had been, the shame and curse of Scotland. A golden opportunity of subjecting them to the law had been suffered to escape, and might never return. If only the Macdonalds would have stood out, nay, if an example could but have been made of the two worst Macdonalds, Keppoch and Glencoe, it would have been something. But it seemed that even Keppoch and Glencoe, marauders who in any well governed country would have been hanged thirty years before, were safe. While the Master was brooding over thoughts like these, Argyle brought him some comfort. The report that Mac Ian had taken the oaths within the prescribed time was erroneous. The Secretary was consoled. One clan, then, was at the mercy of the government, and that clan the most lawless of all. One great act of justice, nay of charity, might be performed. One terrible and memorable example might be given.

Yet there was a difficulty. Mac Ian had taken the oaths. He had taken them, indeed, too late to be entitled to plead the letter of the royal promise: but the fact that he had taken them was one which evidently ought not to have been concealed from those who were to decide his fate. By a dark intrigue, of which the history is but imperfectly known, but which was, in all proba-

bility, directed by the Master of Stair, the evidence of Mac Ian's tardy submission was suppressed. The certificate which the Sheriff of Argyleshire had transmitted to the Council at Edinburgh, was never laid before the board, but was privately submitted to some persons high in office, and particularly to Lord President Stair, the father of the Secretary. These persons pronounced the certificate irregular, and, indeed, absolutely null; and it was cancelled.

Meanwhile the Master of Stair was forming, in concert with Breadalbane and Argyle, a plan for the destruction of the people of Glencoe. It was necessary to take the King's pleasure, not, indeed, as to the details of what was to be done, but as to the question whether Mac Ian and his people should or should not be treated as rebels out of the pale of the ordinary law. The Master of Stair found no difficulty in the royal closet. William had, in all probability, never heard the Glencoe men mentioned except as banditti. He knew that they had not come in by the prescribed day. That they had come in after that day he did not know. If he paid any attention to the matter, he must have thought that so fair an opportunity of putting an end to the devastations and depredations from which a quiet and industrious population had suffered so much ought not to be lost.

An order was laid before him for signature. He signed it, but, if Burnet may be trusted, did

not read it. Whoever has seen anything of public business knows that princes and ministers daily sign, and indeed must sign, documents which they have not read: and of all documents a document relating to a small tribe of mountaineers, living in a wilderness not set down in any map, was least likely to interest a Sovereign whose mind was full of schemes on which the fate of Europe might depend. But, even on the supposition that he read the order to which he affixed his name, there seems to be no reason for blaming him. That order, directed to the Commander of the Forces in Scotland, runs thus: "As for Mac Ian of Glencoe and that tribe, if they can be well distinguished from the other Highlanders, it will be proper, for the vindication of public justice, to extirpate that set of thieves." These words naturally bear a sense perfectly innocent, and would, but for the horrible event which followed, have been universally understood in that sense. It is undoubtedly one of the first duties of every government to extirpate gangs of thieves. This does not mean that every thief ought to be treacherously assassinated in his sleep, or even that every thief ought to be publicly executed after a fair trial, but that every gang, as a gang, ought to be completely broken up, and that whatever severity is indispensably necessary for that end ought to be used. If William had read and weighed the words which were submitted to him by his Secretary, he would probably have under-

stood them to mean that Glencoe was to be occupied by troops, that resistance, if resistance were attempted, was to be put down with a strong hand, that severe punishment was to be inflicted on those leading members of the clan who could be proved to have been guilty of great crimes, that some active young freebooters, who were more used to handle the broad sword than the plough, and who did not seem likely to settle down into quiet labourers, were to be sent to the army in the Low Countries, that others were to be transported to the American plantations, and that those Macdonalds who were suffered to remain in their native valley were to be disarmed and required to give hostages for good behaviour. A plan very nearly resembling this had, we know, actually been the subject of much discussion in the political circles of Edinburgh. There can be little doubt that William would have deserved well of his people if he had, in this manner, extirpated not only the tribe of Mac Ian, but every Highland tribe whose calling was to steal cattle and burn houses.

The extirpation planned by the Master of Stair was of a different kind. His design was to butcher the whole race of thieves, the whole damnable race. Such was the language in which his hatred vented itself. He studied the geography of the wild country which surrounded Glencoe, and made his arrangements with infernal skill. If possible, the blow must be quick, and crushing, and

altogether unexpected. But if Mac Ian should apprehend danger and should attempt to take refuge in the territories of his neighbours, he must find every road barred. The pass of Rannoch must be secured. The Laird of Weems, who was powerful in Strath Tay, must be told that, if he harbours the outlaws, he does so at his peril. Breadalbane promised to cut off the retreat of the fugitives on one side, Mac Callum More on another. It was fortunate, the Secretary wrote, that it was winter. This was the time to maul the wretches. The nights were so long, the mountain tops so cold and stormy, that even the hardiest men could not long bear exposure to the open air without a roof or a spark of fire. That the women and the children could find shelter in the desert was quite impossible. While he wrote thus, no thought that he was committing a great wickedness crossed his mind. He was happy in the approbation of his own conscience. Duty, justice, nay charity and mercy, were the names under which he disguised his cruelty: nor is it by any means improbable that the disguise imposed upon himself.

Hill, who commanded the forces assembled at Fort William, was not entrusted with the execution of the design. He seems to have been a humane man; he was much distressed when he learned that the government was determined on severity; and it was probably thought that his heart might fail him in the most critical moment. He was directed to put a strong detachment under

the orders of his second in command, Lieutenant Colonel Hamilton. To Hamilton a significant hint was conveyed that he had now an excellent opportunity of establishing his character in the estimation of those who were at the head of affairs. Of the troops entrusted to him a large proportion were Campbells, and belonged to a regiment lately raised by Argyle, and called by Argyle's name. It was probably thought that, on such an occasion, humanity might prove too strong for the mere habit of military obedience, and that little reliance could be placed on hearts which had not been ulcerated by a feud such as had long raged between the people of Mac Ian and the people of Mac Callum More.

Had Hamilton marched openly against the Glencoe men and put them to the edge of the sword, the act would probably not have wanted apologists, and most certainly would not have wanted precedents. But the Master of Stair had strongly recommended a different mode of proceeding. If the least alarm were given, the nest of robbers would be found empty; and to hunt them down in so wild a region would, even with all the help that Breadalbane and Argyle could give, be a long and difficult business. "Better," he wrote, "not meddle with them than meddle to no purpose. When the thing is resolved, let it be secret and sudden." He was obeyed; and it was determined that the Glencoe men should perish, not by military execution, but

by the most dastardly and perfidious form of assassination.

On the first of February a hundred and twenty soldiers of Argyle's regiment, commanded by a captain named Campbell and a lieutenant named Lindsay, marched to Glencoe. Captain Campbell was commonly called in Scotland Glenlyon, from the pass in which his property lay. He had every qualification for the service on which he was employed, an unblushing forehead, a smooth lying tongue, and a heart of adamant. He was also one of the few Campbells who were likely to be trusted and welcomed by the Macdonalds; for his niece was married to Alexander, the second son of Mac Ian.

The sight of the red coats approaching caused some anxiety among the population of the valley. John, the eldest son of the Chief, came, accompanied by twenty clansmen, to meet the strangers, and asked what this visit meant. Lieutenant Lindsay answered that the soldiers came as friends, and wanted nothing but quarters. They were kindly received, and were lodged under the thatched roofs of the little community. Glenlyon and several of his men were taken into the house of a tacksman who was named, from the cluster of cabins over which he exercised authority, Inverrigen. Lindsay was accommodated nearer to the abode of the old chief. Auchintriater, one of the principal men of the clan, who governed the small hamlet of Auchnaion, found room there

for a party commanded by a sergeant named Barbour. Provisions were liberally supplied. There was no want of beef, which had probably fattened in distant pastures; nor was any payment demanded: for in hospitality, as in thievery, the Gaelic marauders rivalled the Bedouins. During twelve days the soldiers lived familiarly with the people of the Glen. Old Mac Ian, who had before felt many misgivings as to the relation in which he stood to the government, seems to have been pleased with the visit. The officers passed much of their time with him and his family. The long evenings were cheerfully spent by the peat fire with the help of some packs of cards which had found their way to that remote corner of the world, and of some French brandy which was probably part of James's farewell gift to his Highland supporters. Glenlyon appeared to be warmly attached to his niece and her husband Alexander. Every day he came to their house to take his morning draught. Meanwhile he observed with minute attention all the avenues by which, when the signal for the slaughter should be given, the Macdonalds might attempt to escape to the hills; and he reported the result of his observations to Hamilton.

Hamilton fixed five o'clock in the morning of the thirteenth of February for the deed. He hoped that, before that time, he should reach Glencoe with four hundred men, and should have stopped all the earths in which the old fox and

his two cubs,—so Mac Ian and his sons were nicknamed by the murderers,—could take refuge. But, at five precisely, whether Hamilton had arrived or not, Glenlyon was to fall on, and to slay every Macdonald under seventy.

The night was rough. Hamilton and his troops made slow progress, and were long after their time. While they were contending with the wind and snow, Glenlyon was supping and playing at cards with those whom he meant to butcher before daybreak. He and Lieutenant Lindsay had engaged themselves to dine with the old Chief on the morrow.

Late in the evening a vague suspicion that some evil was intended crossed the mind of the Chief's eldest son. The soldiers were evidently in a restless state; and some of them uttered strange cries. Two men, it is said, were overheard whispering: "I do not like this job:" one of them muttered, "I should be glad to fight the Macdonalds. But to kill men in their beds—" "We must do as we are bid," answered another, voice. "If there is any thing wrong, our officers must answer for it." John Macdonald was so uneasy that, soon after midnight, he went to Glenlyon's quarters. Glenlyon and his men were all up, and seemed to be getting their arms ready for action. John, much alarmed, asked what these preparations meant. Glenlyon was profuse of friendly assurances. "Some of Glengarry's people have been harrying the country. We are

getting ready to march against them. You are quite safe. Do you think that, if you were in any danger, I should not have given a hint to your brother Sandy and his wife?" John's suspicions were quieted. He returned to his house, and lay down to rest.

It was five in the morning. Hamilton and his men were still some miles off; and the avenues which they were to have secured were open. But the orders which Glenlyon had received were precise; and he began to execute them at the little village where he was himself quartered. His host Inverrigen and nine other Macdonalds were dragged out of their beds, bound hand and foot, and murdered. A boy twelve years old clung round the Captain's legs, and begged hard for life. He would do anything: he would go any where: he would follow Glenlyon round the world. Even Glenlyon, it is said, showed signs of relenting: but a ruffian named Drummond shot the child dead.

At Auchnaion the tacksman Auchintriater was up early that morning, and was sitting with eight of his family round the fire, when a volley of musketry laid him and seven of his companions dead or dying on the floor. His brother, who alone had escaped unhurt, called to Serjeant Barbour, who commanded the slayers, and asked as a favour to be allowed to die in the open air. "Well," said the Sergeant, "I will do you that favour for the sake of your meat which I have

eaten." The mountaineer, bold, athletic, and favoured by the darkness, came forth, rushed on the soldiers who were about to level their pieces at him, flung his plaid over their faces, and was gone in a moment.

Meanwhile Lindsay had knocked at the door of the old Chief and had asked for admission in friendly language. The door was opened. Mac Ian, while putting on his clothes and calling to his servants to bring some refreshment for his visitors, was shot through the head. Two of his attendants were slain with him. His wife was already up and dressed in such finery as the princesses of the rude Highland glens were accustomed to wear. The assassins pulled off her clothes and trinkets. The rings were not easily taken from her fingers: but a soldier tore them away with his teeth. She died on the following day.

The statesman, to whom chiefly this great crime is to be ascribed, had planned it with consummate ability: but the execution was complete in nothing but in guilt and infamy. A succession of blunders saved three fourths of the Glencoe men from the fate of their chief. All the moral qualities which fit men to bear a part in a massacre Hamilton and Glenlyon possessed in perfection. But neither seems to have had much professional skill. Hamilton had arranged his plan without making allowance for bad weather, and this in a country and at a season when the

weather was very likely to be bad. The consequence was that the fox earths, as he called them, were not stopped in time. Glenlyon and his men committed the error of despatching their hosts with firearms instead of using the cold steel. The peal and flash of gun after gun gave notice, from three different parts of the valley at once, that murder was doing. From fifty cottages the half naked peasantry fled under cover of the night to the recesses of their pathless glen. Even the sons of Mac Ian, who had been especially marked out for destruction, contrived to escape. They were roused from sleep by faithful servants. John, who, by the death of his father, had become the patriarch of the tribe, quitted his dwelling just as twenty soldiers with fixed bayonets marched up to it. It was broad day long before Hamilton arrived. He found the work not even half performed. About thirty corpses lay wallowing in blood on the dunghills before the doors. One or two women were seen among the number, and, a yet more fearful and piteous sight, a little hand, which had been lopped in the tumult of the butchery from some infant. One aged Macdonald was found alive. He was probably too infirm to fly, and, as he was above seventy, was not included in the orders under which Glenlyon had acted. Hamilton murdered the old man in cold blood. The deserted hamlets were then set on fire; and the troops departed, driving away with them many sheep and goats, nine hundred kine, and two

hundred of the small shaggy ponies of the Highlands.

It is said, and may but too easily be believed, that the sufferings of the fugitives were terrible. How many old men, how many women with babes in their arms, sank down and slept their last sleep in the snow; how many, having crawled, spent with toil and hunger, into nooks among the precipices, died in those dark holes, and were picked to the bone by the mountain ravens, can never be known. But it is probable that those who perished by cold, weariness and want were not less numerous than those who were slain by the assassins. When the troops had retired, the Macdonalds crept out of the caverns of Glencoe, ventured back to the spot where the huts had formerly stood, collected the scorched corpses from among the smoking ruins, and performed some rude rites of sepulture. The tradition runs that the hereditary bard of the tribe took his seat on a rock which overhung the place of slaughter, and poured forth a long lament over his murdered brethren and his desolate home. Eighty years later that sad dirge was still repeated by the population of the valley.

NOTES.

I.

TRIAL OF THE BISHOPS.

5. 17. **in Council.** The king, at this date, presided in person over the meetings of the Privy Council. His place is now taken by the Prime Minister, in the Cabinet, which is a committee of the Council.

24, 29. **order, petition.** See Introduction, I.

6. 8. **Cartwright,** Bishop of Chester, whose servility to James had already been shewn by his taking part in a procession in honour of Adda, the Papal Nuncio (**26.** 12).

9. **Norwich.** Norfolk was at this time one of the most populous counties in England, as its numerous and beautiful parish churches still testify.

11. **Rochester.** Thomas Sprat (1635-1713), Bishop of Rochester and Dean of Westminster, read the Declaration of Indulgence in Westminster Abbey on the appointed day.

15. **Secretary.** Samuel Pepys (1632-1703), the well-known diarist. Chatham, being a naval station, comes under the jurisdiction of the Admiralty.

21. **palace,** *i.e.* Whitehall Palace, the chief London residence of the king.

23. **Chancellor** was Jeffreys, the infamous judge.

8. 5. **letter.** An anonymous letter, written and published the same day that the Bishops' petition was presented, had been sent by post to every clergyman in the kingdom, setting forth strongly the arguments against the reading of the Declaration.

9. **criminal information.** The crime of which they were accused was *libel*, *i.e.* the publication of a writing which would tend to bring contempt or hatred upon a person, and which was published for that express purpose. The person libelled in this case being the

king, the bishops, if proved guilty, would have committed treason as well as libel. The recording of an accusation in a law-court is the first part of the whole legal process of bringing offenders to justice. The technical expression is 'exhibiting an information,' *i.e.* laying an information before the court.

11. **King's Bench.** The principal court for the trial of criminal cases.

14. **Westminster Hall.** Until the Law Courts in the Strand were built (1882), the large hall, now used only as a sort of entrance hall to the Houses of Parliament, with some smaller rooms attached, which have since been pulled down, was used for the different Courts of Law.

9. 5. **second lesson.** See *II. Corinthians*, vi. 4, 5.

12. **Charles I.** The second lesson on Jan. 30th, 1649, the day of Charles I.'s death, was *St. Matt.* xxvii.

15. **Sunderland.** Robert, Earl of Sunderland, Lord President of the Council, a servile minister of James, professed himself a Roman Catholic a few days before the trial took place.

10. 5. **Court of Requests,** a large hall on the south side of Westminster Hall, since demolished.

12. **Attorney General** gets up the case ['prepares the information'] on behalf of the Crown in criminal cases. The Solicitor-General holds much the same position in civil cases.

18. **before the Court.** If the whole proceeding were illegal, it would follow that the bishops were, in the eyes of the law, actually not in the presence of the judges or 'before the court.'

22. **crown,** *i.e.* the king, the plaintiff in the action.

26, 27. **recognisances, sureties.** They acknowledged ['recognised'] their obligation to appear before the court when next summoned, and the *recognisance* was accepted without the further security of *bail* or pledge-money offered by persons [*sureties*] who answered for their appearance.

11. 16. **Abbey,** *i.e.* of Westminster.

22. **Clarendon.** Henry Hyde, Earl of Clarendon (1638-1709), whose sister, Anne, was James II.'s first wife. His diary is one of the first-hand authorities for the period.

12. 4. **Dutch Ambassador.** Arnold van Citters, whose despatches to William of Orange are often quoted by Macaulay.

24. **Hales.** See note on **14.** 11.

13. 9. **Clerk.** The officer who records the business of the Court, issues writs, summonses to jurymen, etc.

30. **four Judges.** The judges of this court consist of the *Lord Chief Justice* and three puisne (lesser) judges.

14. 1, 4, 22, 24, 31. **Wright, Allybone, Powis, Williams, Shower.** See note on **15**, 8, 9.

11. **Sir Edward Hales** had been converted to Roman Catholicism in the reign of Charles II. As soon as James II. succeeded to the throne, he professed his new creed openly, and was given the command of a regiment of foot. An action was brought against him under the terms of the *Test Act*, but eleven out of twelve judges gave decision in favour of the king's 'dispensing power,' and he was soon afterwards appointed Governor or Lieutenant of the Tower.

30. **Sergeant Trinder.** The title sergeant (=sergeant-at-law) was applied to lawyers of the highest rank below a judge until 1880.

15. 4. **Maynard.** Sir John Maynard, a very learned lawyer, now more than 80 years old, had sat in the Long Parliament, but had been a Moderate in policy.

8, 9. **Sawyer, Finch.** **Finch** refused to defend the king's dispensing power, and his place as Solicitor-General was then conferred upon **Powis** (1686), while **Sawyer**, though also opposed to the dispensing power, remained Attorney-General until an equally clever lawyer, **William Williams**, at length sold himself for the sake of escaping the consequences of his rash opposition to the Government, and became Solicitor-General (1688), when **Powis** was made Attorney-General.

Another of James II.'s innovations was his endeavour to establish a standing army—which was not an acknowledged fact in England until the next reign. For this purpose he appointed servile judges to punish 'deserters.' Thus Sir Robert **Wright** became (1686) Lord Chief Justice, **Allybone**, a puisne judge of the King's Bench, and **Shower**, Recorder of London, in the place of **Sir John Holt** (**16.** 10), who was dismissed.

11. **persecution of the Whigs**, *i.e.* after the Rye House Plot, which gave Charles II. the opportunity of taking vengeance on the whole Whig party.

17. **Inns of Court.** Lincoln's Inn, Gray's Inn, and the Inner and Middle Temples, the four corporate societies or colleges in London, to one of which all barristers must belong.

22. **Pollexfen** defended Baxter in his trial for libel (1685).

23. **Western circuit.** Since the time of Henry II. (1176) the kingdom has been divided into districts called *circuits*, which are visited every year by judges appointed to try important and criminal cases. Attached to each circuit are special barristers.

25, 27. **Bloody Assizes.** The trials held by Jeffreys after Monmouth's rebellion, in the course of which **Alice Lisle**, a Devonshire lady, was put to death for harbouring fugitive rebels in her house.

16. 9. **old charter.** The city of London had been disfranchised in 1681 as a part of the 'persecution of the Whigs.' The charter was restored by James in 1688.

15. Compton, **Bishop of London,** having refused to suspend Dr. Sharp, rector of St. Giles's-in-the-Fields, for preaching against the pretensions of the Pope, was himself suspended from the functions of his bishopric. He was at the meeting when the petition of the bishops was drawn up and signed.

16, 17. **John Somers,** afterwards Lord Chancellor (1693-1700).

28. **Johnstone.** A Scotchman, who was employed as an agent by the Whig party to bring communications to William at the Hague.

19. 23. **recorded.** The object of the recording was that the lawyer who had dared to ask such a question, implying a want of faith on the king's part, might hereafter be accused in his turn of 'libel.'

20. 5. **judges,** *i.e.* the House of Lords in its function as the highest court of justice in the kingdom.

28. **Lambeth** is in Surrey, not Middlesex. Sancroft had been forbidden to attend the king's Court, and therefore did not accompany the other bishops when they presented the petition.

22. 14. **directed.** The judge sums up all that has been said on both sides of a case in such a manner as to 'direct' or 'charge' the jury what verdict they should give.

23. 30. **journals,** in which all the proceedings of the House are entered day by day by the clerks.

25. 6. **galleries.** **27.** 31. **benches.** The important persons, peers and others, were accommodated with seats in the wooden galleries on either side of the hall, while the common people stood outside the enclosed space within which the trial took place.

27. 29. **Halifax.** George Savile, Viscount Halifax, was a minister successively of Charles II., James II., and William III. He was called a 'Trimmer,' one who trimmed his boat according to the varying winds. Macaulay tries to show that he was steadily consistent in the cause of liberty.

28. 5. **Temple Bar.** Then marked by a gateway, since removed, and replaced by the griffin.

10. **Savoy.** The Savoy Palace, formerly the residence of John of Gaunt, on the banks of the Thames, where now stands the Savoy theatre.

Friars. The remains of the old Blackfriars monastery, whose site is now marked by Blackfriars bridge.

II.

THE SIEGE OF LONDONDERRY.

31. 28. **camp**, *i.e.* of James II.

29. **Rosen** (Count of), born in Livonia, a Slav province on the Gulf of Riga, was a soldier of fortune, and officer in the French Army, and had been sent by Louis XIV. to assist James II. in Ireland.

32. **Hamilton**, member of a Scottish Roman Catholic family, settled in the North of Ireland. He offered to gain over the Irish for William III., but had now deserted his cause for that of James.

33. **colonists.** Under Elizabeth, James I., and Cromwell various attempts had been made to *plant*, *colonise*, or *settle* Ireland as completely as possible with English landowners. These efforts had succeeded—so far as Ulster was concerned—but the colonists of other districts could not always maintain their footing. Macaulay does not seem quite to distinguish these *Englishry* from the earlier Anglo-Norman settlers and conquerors, many of whom had intermarried with the Irish, although maintaining themselves in a sense as a caste apart.

32. 2. **Lundy** (Robert) was lieutenant-colonel under Mountjoy, Master of the Ordnance in Ireland, and had been left in command of the garrison at Londonderry with the title of Governor.

8. **Jacobite**, an adherent of James (Latin *Jacobus*).

23. **Vauban** (1633-1707), the famous French engineer who constructed fortifications, etc., for the generals of Louis XIV.

30. **Avaux** (Count of) was sent by Louis XIV. to Ireland to act as James's adviser in the interests of France.

Louvois, the French minister of war.

33. 4. **Condé** and **Turenne.** The Prince de Condé (1621-1686) and Maréchal Turenne (1611-1675) were two of the most famous generals of Louis XIV.

38. 8. **Castilian haughtiness.** The noblemen of Spain were noted for their dignified and haughty manners, as well as for their indifference to every occupation but soldiery.

39. 10-14. **Spartan.** The Spartan conquerors lived in the midst of conquered **Helots**, who far out-numbered them. Hence the necessity for their strict military discipline and organisation. The story goes that Xerxes observed from afar Leonidas and the famous 300 Spartans at the pass of **Thermopylae** (B.C. 480) combing out their long hair as though indifferent to their approaching fate. When he sent the message "Give up your arms"! Leonidas replied with the **concise jest**, "Come and take them!"

41. 19. **Bishop.** Ezekiel Hopkins, Bishop of Londonderry, a member of the English Church, then established by law in Ireland.

22. **Raphoe,** about 10 miles south-west from Londonderry.

23. **chapel,** a small church, not a parish church.

26. **Covenant.** The Solemn League and Covenant (1643), the profession of faith of the Scottish Presbyterians.

43. 8. **Melfort.** John Drummond, Lord Melfort, had accompanied James to France and thence to Ireland. He was what Macaulay calls an 'apostate,' *i.e.* a Roman Catholic convert. He had used his influence in opposition to that of Avaux and Tyrconnel to persuade James to go to Ulster in person instead of remaining at Dublin.

10, 11. **Maumont, Pusignan.** French officers.

45. 3. **Enniskilleners.** Enniskillen, a village in the county of Fermanagh, had been turned into a fortified place under the governorship of Gustavus Hamilton, and the surrounding Protestant gentry had assembled there and kept the Irish at bay.

23. **Butler,** the name of an Anglo-Norman family of old descent and many branches settled in the English pale. The **Mountgarret** estates were in Kilkenny.

46. 17. **Barrow** river flows into Waterford Harbour.

24-26. **O'Neil,** the Ui Neill family, native rulers of Ulster in primeval times.

Nugent and **Eustace,** Anglo-Norman names of the English pale.

Cavanagh, an Irish name.

Westmeath men, etc., regiments collected in these several districts, named after, or partly paid by, the landowner whose name they bore.

47. 24. **Kirke,** *i.e.* Colonel Percy Kirke, notorious for the cruelty with which he had put down Monmouth's rebellion. He had afterwards gone over to the side of William.

51. 14. **Mitchelburne** afterwards took part in the battle of the Boyne.

17. **Castle,** *i.e.* of Dublin, the official residence of the sovereign or Viceroy.

31. **Marshal of France,** the highest grade in the French army, equivalent to our 'Field Marshal.'

52. 18. **Charlemont,** on the Blackwater, about 30 miles as the crow flies south-east from Londonderry, on the road north from Dublin.

53. 20. **thieves** were commonly hanged at this date.

54. 18. **French ambassador,** *i.e.* Avaux (see **32.** 30).

20, 21. **barbarous Muscovite. Muscovy** was a vague term applied to Russia, whose inhabitants at this date were regarded as almost outside the pale of civilisation.

28. **secretary**, *i.e.* Melfort.

59. 18. **Leake** (1656-1720) fought with distinction in the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1713), was made an admiral and knighted, and had a share in the taking of Gibraltar (1704).

60. 15. **within the fence**, *i.e.* on the other side of the barricade.

62. 6. **Strabane**, on the Foyle, about 10 miles to the south of Londonderry.

63. 31. **Diamond**, the central square of Londonderry.

III.

MASSACRE OF GLENCOE.

67. 12. **Breadalbane.** His estates lay to the north-east of those of Argyle, in Perthshire.

16. **claymores**, men armed with the claymore.

69. 8. **Mac Callum More** = the son (Mac) of Colin (Callum) the Great (More). This is the Gaelic title of the chief of the Campbells, the Duke of Argyle.

15. **Lochiel**, Sir Ewan Cameron of Lochiel, the chief of the Camerons, according to Macaulay, one of the wisest and most statesmanlike of the Highlanders.

16. **Glengarry**, *i.e.* Macdonald of Glengarry.

71. 21. **Diarmid**, the mythical ancestor of the Campbells.

29. **Castilian.** See **38.** 8, note.

73. 30. **Sleat**, a district in the south of the island of Skye.

Clanronald, north-west of **Lochiel** (**69.** 15), which is the north-western portion of the district of Lochaber.

Keppoch, north-east of Lochiel.

Glengarry, valley of the River Garry, a tributary of the Tay.

74. 16. **Inverary** on Loch Fyne, more than thirty miles south of Fort William.

22. **Sheriff**, the principal person in a shire. He represents the king, and so an oath taken before him is equivalent to one taken before the king. The word **magistrate** (15), which means a public officer of any kind, is chiefly used as here for a subordinate official who represents the king in his *legal* capacity, and especially for a justice of the peace, the next civil officer below the Sheriff.

24. **Whig** at first meant the fanatical Presbyterians of Scotland, and was afterwards applied to the strongly Protestant and Non-conformist party in England. The Campbells were all Whigs. The 9th Earl of Argyle had led an expedition against James II. in Scotland at the same time (1685) as Monmouth's rebellion in England. His attempt failed; he was executed and his followers severely punished.

75. 17. **Council.** The Government of Scotland was carried on at this time and until the Act of Union (1707) by means of a separate Parliament and Council at Edinburgh. The Secretary, or Lord High Commissioner, represented the King in Council. Sir John Dalrymple, **Master of Stair** (**78.** 4), held this office, but resided in London.

31. **ablest ... politicians.** Archibald Campbell, 1st Marquess of Argyle (1598-1662), was the chief of the Covenanting party in opposition to Charles I., but had been pardoned by Charles II., and assisted in his restoration. Nevertheless he was tried for treason and executed in 1662.

76. 2. **patriots.** This was the 9th Earl. See note on **73.** 22. His son Archibald (**75.** 27) was created *Duke* of Argyle in 1701, and died in 1703.

one Mac Callum More ... letters. John, 2nd Duke of Argyle (1678-1743), became a soldier, served under Marlborough at Malplaquet, etc., extinguished the rebellion of the '15 in Scotland, was famed for his speeches in the House of Lords, and held several posts under Government.

5. **another Mac Callum More ... sciences.** Archibald, 3rd Duke of Argyle (1682-1761), brother of the 2nd Duke, was elected one of sixteen representative peers in the first Unionist Parliament. He collected a fine private library.

78. 19. **pound Scots** = 1s. 8d., or $\frac{1}{12}$ of a pound sterling.

23. **district.** Dalrymple is in Ayrshire.

79. 28. **Dominic.** St. Dominic (1170-1221), the founder of the order of Dominican friars, encouraged the crusade of Simon de Montford against the **peaceful and industrious** Albigenses, a reforming sect living in the south of France, upon whom many barbarous cruelties were inflicted.

80. 1. **Digby**, one of the principal conspirators in the Gunpowder Plot (1604).

3. **Robespierre** (1759-1794) first obtained a reputation for humanity and **philanthropy** by his treatise on *Crimes and Punishments*, in which he denied the right of society to inflict capital punishment. Afterwards, as a member of the Committee of Public Safety in the French Revolution, he was responsible for the death of an immense number of victims in the name of 'liberty.'

13. **letters of fire and sword.** The symbolic message of the Fiery Cross. [See Scott's *Lady of the Lake*, Canto III.] The chieftain of a clan summoned his men by a rough cross of light wood, which was seared at both ends in *fire*, and then dipped in the *blood* of a goat. This signified that the man who failed to answer the summons would be punished by 'fire and sword.'

20. **Court of Session,** the Supreme Court of Scotland.

81. 1. **Culloden.** After this battle (1746) many stringent Acts were passed, by which the independence of the chiefs and their **patriarchal jurisdiction** (14) were finally abolished.

22. **James V.** of Scotland held a Parliament (1528) at Edinburgh to consult about the suppression of the mosstroopers. **John Armstrong** (26), so the story goes, came with thirty-six men to make his submission, whereupon they were all seized and hanged. See Ballad in Scott's *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*.

82. 1. **Sixtus V.**, Pope (1585-1590), was renowned for the severity of his rule in temporal matters.

25. **implacable Roman.** Cato, the Censor (B.C. 232-150), constantly uttered in his speeches to the Roman Senate before the last Punic War, between Rome and Carthage, the words "delenda est Carthago" (Carthage must be destroyed).

83. 17. **Lochaber.** See **73.** 30, note.

87. 12. **American plantations,** *i.e.* New England and other colonies in America, which afterwards formed (1776) the United States.

90. 7. **Glenlyon.** Scottish landowners are commonly spoken of by the names of their estates, the surnames being so frequently identical.

91. 6. **Bedouins,** warlike tribe of Arabs, dwelling in tents, of whose hospitality numerous stories are told.

17. **farewell gift.** The **Highland supporters** who had been led by Dundee had received some few provisions and men from James, during his brief authority in Ireland. **French brandy,** no doubt part of the plentiful store bestowed by Louis XIV., might well have been part of this.

95. 16. **fixed bayonets.** The bayonets of this period were fixed upon the muskets so as not to interfere with the firing of the weapon. This plan was invented by Mackay after the battle of Killiecrankie.

QUESTIONS.

I.

1. What was the exact offence with which the bishops were charged? Could a similar case occur in our own day?

2. Would you infer from Macaulay's account of the trial that he was (1) a lawyer, (2) a Protestant?

3. Explain carefully why the trial caused so much popular interest.

4. What modes of conveyance and means of communication were in use in 1688?

5. What are (*a*) the 'chapel' referred to in 9. 4; (*b*) the 'palace at Lambeth,' 20. 28; (*c*) the 'great roads,' 28. 20; (*d*) 'Old and New Palace Yard,' 13. 24?

6. What was the 'nature of the legal proceedings' described on pp. 10, 11, "On Friday . . . security for Ken"?

7. What do you gather about the 'law of libel' from this Trial?

II.

8. Where are Londonderry, Enniskillen, Belturbet, Donaghmore, Westmeath, Kildare, Kerry, Sligo, Donegal? Was the possession of Londonderry strategically important to either side?

9. Does Macaulay show a personal acquaintance with Londonderry and its neighbourhood in this account?

10. Give in your own words Macaulay's description of (*a*) Rosen and his conduct in the siege, (*b*) the relief of Londonderry.

III.

11. How many Campbells are mentioned in this narrative? State their names, titles, character, so far as here indicated. Do any well-known living persons bear this name?

12. Trace on a map the journey probably taken by MacIan from Glencoe to Fort William, and thence to Inverary.

13. Where are the 'pass of Rannoch,' Glenlyon, Lochaber, Glengarry?

14. Explain carefully what is meant by the 'clan system,' and how far it accounted for the events here related.

15. Describe the scenery of Glencoe in your own words.

16. *Passages suggested for repetition*: pp. 27. 22—28. 31; 36. 31—40. 22; 59. 20—62. 6; 69. 21—70. 31.

SUBJECTS FOR ESSAYS.

1. Analyse Macaulay's style [illustrating from the text], particularly in regard to (*a*) vocabulary, (*b*) use of metaphor or allusion, (*c*) structure of sentences and of paragraphs.

2. How did Scotland and Ireland differ or resemble each other as regards (*a*) religious questions, (*b*) racial distinctions, (*c*) dynastic sympathies, (*d*) government at the date of the Revolution?

3. Discuss Macaulay's method and manner as a historian, as displayed in these Narratives.

4. Discuss the character of the Master of Stair in regard to its inherent probability and actual truth of fact.

5. Write essays on these sentences: 79. 8-11, "We daily . . . avenge themselves"; and 39. 28-31, "Something . . . numerous nations." In discussing the latter sentence, apply the expressions used to 'individuals' as well as "nations."

6. Should you judge Macaulay to have been (*a*) sympathetic towards individuals? (*b*) tolerant of opponents? (*c*) imaginative? (*d*) an Imperialist?

HELPS TO FURTHER STUDY.

1. The standard biography of *Macaulay* by his nephew, Sir G. O. Trevelyan, is also one of the half-dozen best biographies in the English language.

2. The *History of England* [to the Revolution of 1688] by the Roman Catholic, J. Lingard (1771-1851), is a useful corrective to the ultra-Protestant point of view of Macaulay.

3. An immense amount of 'first-hand' material exists for the study of the Revolution period, *e.g.* the diary of John Evelyn (1620-1706), or of Clarendon (see note, **11.** 22), and many other diaries and memoirs; or *History of my own Times*, by Gilbert Burnet (1643-1715), the chaplain of William III.

4. Remains of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, such as buildings (Greenwich Hospital, Chelsea Hospital) or portraits in the National Portrait Gallery and elsewhere, are also plentiful, and invaluable.

5. R. L. Poole's *Historical Atlas of Modern Europe* (Oxford, Clarendon Press) has maps of the Scottish and Irish clans and families (plates 28-31).

6. Macaulay's *History* should, of course, be read in its entirety to be fully appreciated.

7. Students should read alternately chapters in S. R. Gardiner (1829-1902), *History of England from the Accession of James I.*, or E. A. Freeman (1823-1892), *History of the Norman Conquest*, or T. Carlyle (1795-1881), *French Revolution*, and compare these with Macaulay in order to appreciate some of the many admirable, though diverse, methods and manners of English historians.

8. Criticism of Macaulay as a stylist and historian can be found in any of the standard books, *e.g.* Saintsbury, *History of Nineteenth Century Literature* (Macmillan). See also W. Raleigh, *Style*.

GLOSSARY.

(The first number gives the page, the second the line in which the word occurs.)

abate (56. 1), lessen, yield.
aboriginal (49. 9), belonging to the beginning or origin of a country.
accommodated (90. 28), given sleeping-room.
accomplice (78. 3), one who works with and assists another in a crime.
acknowledgment (80. 9), recognition of the truth of a statement.
acrimony (25. 2), sharp, bitter feeling.
action (48. 28), open encounter with an enemy.
actuated (79. 2), influenced in actions.
adamant (90. 11), a very hard substance.
addressed (79. 12), aimed.
administer (74. 14), receive and bear witness to (an oath).
administration (38. 5), carrying out the duties of an office.
advocate (16. 3), barrister who pleads on behalf of one party in a trial.
affected (32. 8), pretended; *part.* (80. 17), assumed, made use of.
affixed (86. 10), added, signed.
affronted (8. 19), insulted.
agents (76, 12), persons acting on behalf of another.
aggravation (58. 12), additional grievance or hardship.
aggrieved (24. 29), injured.
alleged (20. 22), asserted as a fact.
altercation (19. 29), dispute between two persons.
animosity (79. 13), feeling of dislike, or hatred.
anker (61. 15), measure of spirits or wine, containing about 8¼ gallons.
annals (62. 8), events recorded year by year.
annulled (40. 8), repealed, made of no effect.
ante-chamber (7. 26), small room adjoining a large one.
antipathy (40. 3), strong dislike.
apostate (19. 25), one who has forsaken his religious belief.
apprehend (17. 11), suspect, fear.
apprehensive (72. 4), afraid.
appropriated to (36. 29), bestowed upon, connected with.
armament (47. 28), fleet of armed ships.
array (55. 26), dress and order.

ascendency (38. 29), the keeping at the top, maintaining the upper hand.
ascertained (62. 12), made certain.
assassination (77. 6), violent and planned murder.
Assizes (15. 26), sittings of a court of judges, etc.
attorney (16. 5), lawyer who gives legal advice and prepares cases for barristers. The modern title is solicitor.
auditory (13. 26), audience, persons assembled to listen to proceedings.
austere (63. 9), strict, severe.
authorised (42. 23), given authority, instructed.

bail (10. 30), money given as a pledge for the appearance of accused persons at a trial.
banditti (81. 21), lawless persons united in a band, for the purpose of plundering or injuring others.
barricade (60. 7), heap of any kind placed across a road or river to bar the way.
bastion (36. 12), mound of earth or mass of masonry at the corner of a fortified place.
battalion (32. 31), army-division consisting of several hundred men.
battery (46. 29), guns or cannon used for beating a wall or fortification.
battering (43. 14), attacking with a battery.
bayonets (83. 6), short daggers of sharp steel, fitted to the muzzle of a gun or rifle.
begirt (37. 8), surrounded.
board (60. 11), *v.* force a way on board an enemy's ship.
boom (47. 6), chain or line of logs, etc., stretched across a river as a barrier.
breaches (56. 11), gap broken in a wall or fortification.
brief (16. 6), short statement of a case in law which a barrister is said to 'hold' when he is employed as counsel in a case.
broadside (60. 12), a volley fired from all the guns at once on one side of a man-of-war.
buccaneer (79. 27), semi-pirate.

calling (87. 22), occupation.
callous (55. 10), hard, stony.
cancelled (85. 10), crossed out, destroyed.
cannonade (43. 19), assault of cannons.
capitulate (7. 20), make terms, or conditions.
cargo (59. 8), ship's load, all kinds of goods, cattle, etc., that are carried by a single ship.
carrion (63. 15), flesh of a dead animal.
caste (37. 29), social class which is sharply divided from those above or below it.
casuists (7. 9), persons who study and discuss *cases* of conscience and morality.
certificate (75. 16), paper or document signed by a person in authority, giving assurance of certain facts.
chancel (45. 12), east end or most important part of a church.
chaplain (9. 16), priest or minister attached to a private house, institution, castle, etc.

charge (22. 13), *v.* address (a jury) in a speech which sums up and discusses the evidence on each side of a case.
chicanery (7. 5), petty cheating, quibbling.
choir (42. 2), east end of a church.
Christendom (79. 29), all the countries in which the Christian religion is professed.
circuit (15. 23), district visited periodically by judges; (61. 24), space all around.
circuitous (45. 3), round about.
civilisation (62. 28), the arts and sciences of life.
clan (76. 23), tribe, group of families all connected with one another.
claymore (67. 16), two-handed Highland sword.
clerk (18. 16), secretary, one who sets down the proceedings in writing.
closet (21. 11), audience-room.
coincidence (9. 10), the act of happening at the same time as something else.
column (62. 4), procession of soldiers, etc., marching one behind another.
commit (9. 2), hand over for trial.
commission (12. 28), post as military officer.
commonwealth (40. 10), State.
competent (74. 14), having the necessary authority.
compounded (39. 29), mixed.
concise (39. 13), pointed, expressed in few words.
confederates (72. 30), allies.
confessor (53. 14), priest who hears confessions of sin from penitents and dying persons.
conjecture (79. 1), guess.
connivance (36. 19), permission to do something which is not acknowledged by the person giving the permission.
constitution (80. 26), elements of which something is made up, or composed.
constitutional (16. 30), affecting or concerned in, questions of government.
consummate (94. 21), very great, enormous.
contemporary (38. 6), living at the same time.
contended (17. 22), strove in argument.
contribute (79. 14), assist, encourage.
contumacious (80. 18), obstinate.
convoy (59. 5), protection, by means of accompanying ships or forces.
corpulent (29. 10), fat.
corrupt (22. 10), dishonest.
counsel (10. 16), barristers, those whose business it is to give *counsel* or advice in a law case.
couriers (45. 1), postmen.
courtly (26. 23), inclined to favour the court party.
covenant (20. 10), agreement or promise.
cover (60. 3), protect, keep under shelter.
creatures (34. 12), persons who owe their appointment and position to another.
criminate (7. 5), bring an accusation for crime against.
critical (88. 30), on which a crisis, or turning point, depends.
cupidity (79. 12), greed, love of money.

damnable (87. 26), abominably wicked, worthy of the utmost punishment.
dastardly (34. 30), cowardly, contemptible.
decent (24. 26), becoming, suitable.
defences (32. 23), mounds, walls, etc., which defend a city.
deferred (58. 25), delayed, put off.
deficiency (50. 11), scarcity.
depredations (71. 24), plunderings.
deputation (35. 5), group of persons empowered to bring a message and speak on behalf of others.
derided (41. 20), laughed at.
desert (88. 16), barren, uncultivated place.
despatch (58. 28), written message or instructions, sent from officials to subordinates or superiors.
despatched (26. 10), sent off.
despatching (95. 4), killing.
destitute (36. 31), deprived of.
detachment (48. 29), small body of troops detached from the main army.
detention (12. 26), the being detained or kept in confinement.
devastated (76. 27), laid waste.
devastations, *n.* (85. 27).
device (81. 18), trick.
dexterity (55. 2), skill.
dictated (40. 8), influenced.
diffidence (78. 31), hesitation, modest doubt.
diocese (5. 23), collection of parishes within which a bishop has authority.
diplomatic (73. 8), skilled in carrying on delicate affairs of state.
diplomatist (55. 2), one who carries on negotiations with foreign states or courts.
dirge (96. 24), funeral song, song of lament.
dirks (81. 11), short daggers used by Highlanders.
disarmed (87. 14), having the means of fighting, weapons, etc., taken from one.
discomposed (43. 19), alarmed, upset.
disorganised (37. 7), not arranged in order.
dispense with (23. 25), do away with.
dissemble (18. 15), conceal.
dissolution (80. 30), breaking to pieces, bringing to an end.
divines (7. 9), persons learned in divinity, or the knowledge of divine things.
dominant (38. 17), ruling.
domineered (39. 30), ruled haughtily as a superior race.
dragoons (48. 23), mounted infantry.
dynasty (82. 21), reigning family.

earths (91. 31), holes in the earth made to hide in by animals.
edified (9. 25), encouraged by precept and example.
effective (62. 10), able to fight.
effigy (36. 26), image or portrait of a person in wood or stone.
effrontery (25. 8), impudence.
elapsed (58. 24), passed by.
emergency (37. 18), dangerous condition of affairs.
encroachments (26. 1), going beyond proper limits.
engage (7. 29), promise, give a pledge. **engagement** (8. 1).
engenders (57. 8), gives rise to.

enlightened (80. 25), learned, well-educated.
entitled (84. 26), able to claim a privilege of some sort.
episcopal (11. 26), belonging to a bishop.
episcopacy (67. 21), government of the Church by bishops.
equivocated (19. 6), told half-truths, used words of double meaning.
escorted (59. 16) accompanied for the sake of protection.
esquire (17. 5), country gentleman; the rank next below that of knights.
establishing (89. 4), building up, strengthening.
eulogists (82. 2), persons who praise another.
execration (36. 25), intense hatred.
execution (88. 25), carrying out [of a plan].
exhaled (57. 10), breathed.
exhibited (8. 10), produced in court; (40. 16), shewn.
expedient (58. 8), useful, advisable.
expeditiously (45. 1), hurriedly, swiftly.
explosion (28. 22), outburst, demonstration (of joy).
express (20. 10) stated in exact words; (44. 27), at express speed.
extant (6. 14), in existence.
extirpate (86. 17), uproot, destroy.
extorts (39. 9), demands, calls forth.
extremity (39. 28), extreme danger.

fabulous (77. 5), invented for the purpose of a *fable*, or story.
fanatic (41. 24), person who shews exaggerated enthusiasm in religious matters.
fealty (32. 7), faithfulness, loyalty.
feud (76. 25), quarrel between families or tribes that continues through several generations.
feudal (76. 15), connected with the ownership of land on condition of military service.
find (27. 25), declare (a verdict).
fireraisings (80. 21), setting places on fire.
foreman [of a jury] (17. 2), the juryman who speaks on behalf of the others.
forensic (15. 8), connected with the law.
formidable (82. 3), that causes terror and dread.
freebooters (87. 7), highway robbers.
frigate (59. 17), small ship of war.
fulsome (15. 1), offensively flattering.
fundamental (23. 29), most important, lying at the foundation, so that everything else depends upon it.

gallows (53. 11), wooden frame on which a rope is fastened for hanging persons.
garb (29. 9), dress.
gownsman (80. 25), lawyer, member of a learned profession.
gratifying (76. 19), pleasing, agreeable.
grievance (23. 27), cause of grief, or complaint.
grounded (60. 29), stuck on the ground, reached land.
guarantee (68. 16), pledge.

habit (11. 26), dress.
halter (20. 7), rope for hanging a man.
hamlet (90. 31), a tiny village.
hands (18. 5), hand-writings.
harbours (88. 7), gives shelter to.
harrying (92. 31), laying waste, over-running.
hereditary (77. 12), holding an office which descends from father to son.
hostage (55. 28), one who is detained in confinement by one member of a treaty as a pledge for the performance of promises by the other side.
humane (88. 27), kindly disposed.
humanity (89. 10), natural feelings of kindness.

ignominious (53. 20), shameful and humiliating.
imminent (36. 15), closely threatening.
impeached (27. 27), accused (in law).
imperial (24. 27), having rule over an empire.
imperious (38. 20), haughty.
implacable (82. 25), that cannot be appeased.
implied (8. 1), understood, included in meaning if not expressed in words.
imputed (24. 13), reckoned, brought as a charge against.
incensed (37. 4), angry, furious.
incompatible (39. 19), not able to exist together.
indefatigably (41. 15), without weariness.
infamy (39. 3), disgrace.
infernal (87. 30), hateful, devilish.
infested (49. 31), harassed, continually attacked.
information (8. 9, 17. 31, 24. 10), a written accusation or complaint which justifies a warrant for the arrest of a prisoner.
inordinate (79. 2), unmeasured, out of all proportion.
inroad (48. 5), invasion by a small body of troops.
insignificant (75. 27), not remarkable.
insubordination (57. 12), disobedience, resistance to authority.
irregular (85. 9), not according to the proper rules and forms.
intelligence (28. 21, 76. 17), information.
interposed (19. 10), came between.
interrogated (8. 4), questioned.
intimated (16. 5), plainly hinted.
intrepid (28. 23), fearless.
intrigue (84. 30), secret scheme or plot.

jurisdiction (81. 14), carrying on of justice, lawful authority.
jurists (14. 19), persons learned in the law.

latent (37. 28), in existence, but lying concealed.
legislative (26. 3), connected with the making of laws.
leprosies (57. 7), skin diseases.
level (94. 3), aim.
liberties (29. 20), districts whose inhabitants enjoy the privileges or *liberties* granted to the citizens of a town.
liturgy (42. 2), book of prayers, form of public worship.
livid (61. 3), deathly pale.
lucid (16. 23), clear.

magazines (41. 1), store-houses.
magistrate (74. 15), officer who represents the sovereign in his legal aspect.
magnanimous (74. 8), high-spirited.
malcontents (72. 13), discontented persons.
manned (36. 8), supplied with men.
marauders (79. 30), persons who make petty warfare, highwaymen.
master (59. 6), captain of a merchant ship.
massacres (77. 6), the killing of a number of persons in cold blood.
maul (88. 11), hurt, injure.
meat (93. 31), food.
merchantmen (60. 3), merchant ships.
militiamen (38. 11), soldiers liable for home service.
misdemeanour (27. 26), legal fault.
misgivings (31. 33), uncomfortable doubts.
moment (76. 28), importance.
morality (79. 16), good conduct.
mortified (8. 22), humiliated.
mosstroopers (81. 23), robbers who infested the *mosses*, or borderlands between England and Scotland.
muskets (45. 27), fire-arm or gun, of a foot-soldier.

negotiate (55. 24), discuss terms of treaty or surrender.
negotiation (76. 28), undertaking of business between two parties.
note (45. 9), fame, importance.
null (85. 9), non-existent in the eyes of the law.
nullity (12. 28, 25. 30, 54. 18), a state of things illegal, and therefore, in the eyes of the law, non-existent.

obligations (24. 21), actions to which one is bound by some feeling of loyalty or affection.
obloquy (54. 7), ill repute, the being ill spoken of.
offence (24. 13), crime, guilt.
opulent (11. 3), wealthy, rich.
ordinary (6. 12), chaplain, priest in regular attendance on a person or institution.
outlaws (82. 2), persons who are not to be protected by the law.
outwork (45. 17), fortified place at a little distance from a castle or the walls of a town.
overruled (34. 20), disregarded.

pacification (80. 7), peaceful settlement.
pack (13. 5), fill with persons ready to act on one's own side.
pale (85. 18), *n.* limit.
parsimonious (50. 12), sparing, extremely careful.
parts (14. 24), talents.
patriarch (95. 15), chief.
patriarchal (76. 16), belonging to the chief of a tribe.
peat (91. 14), dried turf used for fuel.
perfidy (40. 24), outrageous treachery.
perpetrates (79. 26), performs, carries out.
pertinacious (41. 9), obstinate, persistent.
pertinent (16. 23), belonging to the point.
perused (17. 20), read about.
philanthropy (80. 5), love of mankind.

pieces (94. 3), muskets, guns.
pike (54. 2), weapon consisting of a lance-head fixed to a pole, used by musketeers.
plantations (87. 12), colonies.
plausible (35. 7), that sounds well, and appears praiseworthy.
plead (10. 15), argue a case at law, on one side or the other; (84. 26), put forth as an excuse.
politic (36. 19), wise in affairs of state, prudent.
pontiff (82. 3), chief priest, pope.
precedent (76. 30), example, something that has happened before.
predatory (71. 3), accustomed to plunder.
prelatical (67. 19), connected with prelates or bishops.
prerogative (23. 24), claim of the sovereign to exercise a certain right or privilege.
princes (86. 2), sovereigns, heads of states.
privations (63. 23), hardships, scarcity of comforts.
proclamation (73. 9), a public message from the king to his people.
profuse of (92. 29), making use of many (things of the same kind).
progeny (76. 8), descendants, children.
propriety (24. 29), proper, or suitable, behaviour.
protections (54. 16), letters granting persons the right to live safe and unattacked.
provocation (76. 26), injury that provokes to vengeance.
punctilious (74. 5), anxious about points of honour.
put on (19. 20), accuse.
qualification (90. 9), necessary characteristic.
quell (53. 3), destroy, tame.

rabble (24. 24), common people.
radical (80. 16), complete, starting from the root or beginning.
ramparts (35. 27), walls or mounds surrounding a city or camp.
rapine (81. 8), violent plundering.
rations (53. 10), portions of food doled out to a garrison, etc.
recesses (95. 10), secret hiding places.
recognisances (10. 20), written statement of an obligation to appear before a court of law recorded before a magistrate.
reconstruction (80. 30), building up again.
Recorder (16. 9), chief judicial officer of a borough. The Recorder of London is the judge of the Lord Mayor's court.
redress (23. 27), setting to rights, making good.
refractory (75. 12), disobedient.
regiment (89. 8), body of troops, consisting of several battalions (*q.v.*) under the command of a colonel.
reinforce (33. 23), strengthen, add to the numbers of.
relation (91. 9), connection, attitude.
relenting (93. 19), becoming less cruel.
reliance (89. 12), dependence.
relinquished (45. 15), given up, abandoned.
remonstrated (59. 9), objected, pointed out the mistakes in a course of action.

remorseless (79. 3), without gentle or tender feelings.
repair (41. 5), go.
reprehensible (54. 26), worthy of blame.
reprimand (28. 31), scolding.
reputed (15. 16), considered.
recusant (75. 13), one who refuses to submit or conform.
resplendent (40. 17), shining, splendid.
retainer (16. 4), fee paid to retain the services of a barrister.
retaliated (77. 26), returned an injury.
retrieved (37. 6), recovered, gained back.
revere (39. 21), respect.
rites (56. 30), ceremonies, proper forms.
rude (73. 2), primitive, uncivilised.

sacerdotal (29. 9), priestly.
sally (43. 25), a going out of soldiers from a besieged place.
sanguine (58. 24), naturally hopeful.
science (44. 14), knowledge of a profession or craft.
sect (79. 8), body of persons holding special religious opinions which divide them from the rest of the church.
seditious (18. 2), wicked, treasonable.
senates (40. 27), assemblies of elders, or rulers of the people.
sensible (74. 17), aware.
sensibility (54. 24), sensitiveness.
sepulture (56. 30), burial.
serfs (39. 24), persons almost, but not quite, in the position of slaves.
serjeant (93. 27), man next in rank above a private soldier.
signals (58. 18), movements of flags, guns, etc., by which soldiers and sailors communicate.
significant (89. 2), full of meaning.
site (62. 2), place upon which a building has been, or on which an important event has happened.
spars (60. 18), pieces broken off from logs of wood.
species (39. 23), kind, sort.
squadron (51. 16), small fleet of ships.
society (80. 29), all classes of persons considered as one whole.
standards (62. 4), flags, banners.
statutes (23. 25), written laws.
stimulants (45. 19), encouragements.
suavity (55. 3), smooth manner.
subjecting (84. 6), putting under the power of.
subjection (37. 31), humble submission.
sublimed (38. 31), changed, transformed, as substances are changed by chemical processes.
submitted (75. 20), shewn, laid before.
subordinate (41. 3), lower in rank.
subscribe (41. 26), sign one's name beneath.
succouring (59. 11), bringing help to.
summons (34. 26), demand of surrender.
superficial (39. 15), concerned with the surface or the outside of things.
suppressed (85. 2), concealed.

sworn (17. 1), bound by an oath or solemn promise.

tacksmen (73. 26), those who hold tacks or leases; tenants.
tampering (76. 12), having secret dealings.
tartan (78. 24), the checked cloth or plaid of different patterns worn by the Highland clans.
technical (23. 22), connected with some special occupation or profession.
tempered (25. 11), modified, slightly changed.
territories (88. 3), districts under a particular ruler.
tinged (37. 21), mixed.
tortuous (68. 5), twisted, changeable.
tradition (76. 31), custom or story handed down.
train (51. 10), company or following.
transmitted (85. 4), sent.
transported (87. 12), carried across the sea to exile.
tribunal (28. 28), bench of judges.
trophy (45. 12), symbol of triumph or victory.
tumultuary (32. 29), connected with a sudden tumult or riot.
turncoat (25. 8), one who changes sides for the sake of his own advantage.
turpitude (79. 25), wickedness, disgraceful character.

ulcerated (89. 13), made sore.
untenable (52. 6), not able to be held against attack.

vanguard (35. 28), troops that march in the front of an army.
vassals (74. 2), dependents.
venal (25. 8), ready to act contrary to one's belief for the sake of bribe or reward.
vented (87. 28), expressed.
vigilance (37. 31), watchfulness.
vindication (86. 16), defence, bringing credit upon.
vindictive (77. 6), revengeful.
violate (24. 21), do violence to, act so as to injure.
volleys (64. 5), discharge (of cannon or guns).

wanted (14. 25), was without.
warrant (8. 28), document or paper from a superior official giving authority to an inferior to make an arrest.
wire-drawing (21. 29), making fine distinctions.

yeomen (36. 7), small farmers.

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